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COVER: In the winter of 1805-06 when Georg von Langsdorff sketched the Imperial Russian-American Company's headquarters at Sitka on Norfolk Sound, American traders and whalers had already begun penetrating the Tsar's Russian-American territory. In the following decades Yankees anchored with increasing regularity in the small Sitka bay, negotiated at the fortress on the hill, and loaded furs at the warehouses on the neck of land stretching into the bay. For a new perspective on the growth of commerce in Russian America leading to the purchase of Alaska, turn to page 5. *Etching from volume two of the German edition of Langsdorff's Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World . . . , courtesy Bancroft Library.*

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Only five years after the American-Russian Commercial Company began selling ice hauled from Sitka to residents of San Francisco, the company's unassuming warehouse below the east face of Telegraph Hill at Clark's Point was photographed in 1856 by an anonymous photographer. Expanding commercial involvement in the foreign territory facilitated and, perhaps, catalyzed the cession of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

“Seward’s Folly”?: American Commerce in Russian America and the Alaska Purchase

HOWARD I. KUSHNER

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and author of numerous articles on Russian-American relations in the nineteenth century*

WHILE THE 1867 ALASKA PURCHASE proved to be a valuable cession to the United States, American historical scholarship on the subject almost unanimously ascribes the favorable conclusion to fortuity rather than American foresight. The reasons for the cession, popularly known as “Seward’s Folly,” are usually ascribed to Secretary of State William Henry Seward’s lust after territory¹ or Russia’s desire to dispose of an increasingly burdensome possession² or a combination of both. Nowhere, however, does one find the argument that Americans, except perhaps Seward, desired the territory because of its economic value. The traditional picture of popular reaction to Seward’s purchase is one of surprise and disbelief that the United States government would purchase all that ice.

The American-Russian Commercial Company of San Francisco, however, never disputed the wisdom of such a purchase. Ice was a valuable commodity in the 1850’s, and the American-Russian Commercial Company had been selling Russian America’s ice since 1851 to inhabitants of the western coasts of the United States and South America. Moreover, fur traders, whalers, and fishermen had been tapping the natural resources of Russian America for decades. While twentieth-century scholars may be misled concerning the value of Russia’s North American holdings, many entrepreneurs in the decade before the Civil War viewed the Russian possession as anything but worthless. American commercial interests in Russian America, in fact, grew to such proportions by the 1850’s that key Russian policy-makers argued to Tsar Nicholas that he should dispose of his colony, not because it was worthless, but rather because its great potential value to American citizens would eventually lead to conflicts with the United States for possession.

The period from 1852 until the end of the Civil War saw old interests in Russian America sustained and new interests born. The whaling industry, for instance, continued to reap huge profits from hunting in the coastal waters which fell under the nominal jurisdiction of the Russian-American Company,³ the Russian commercial company granted exclusive trading control over Alaska

and Russian America since the late eighteenth century. The incorporation of Oregon and California into the United States provided a new, more solid base for American penetration of the Russian possession. In San Francisco of the 1850's, increased interest in Russian America was born of the hysteria and hope of instant fortune responsible for countless enterprising commercial schemes. The Argonauts and other settlers on the United States' West Coast understood their debt to land expansionists of the past fifty years, and there were probably few in America by 1850 who did not accept as an article of faith the proposition that all North America would eventually become part of the United States. The Russian and British possessions to the north could not avoid the fate of the former Spanish and French holdings in North America. Indeed, by 1850, as uneasy as some individuals may have become about the relations within the Union itself, most citizens probably looked to the future with an eye to expansion rather than disunion.⁴

In 1852 the United States' economy was growing rapidly. While a rather sharp recession in 1857 seemed to slow this pace, the economic turndown was much less serious than the 1837 panic. Industrial growth accelerated beyond its record of the previous decade, and by the middle 1850's the Northeast was a distinctive manufacturing region. As the 1840's heralded the beginning of the end of eastern dependence on the southern cash crop of cotton, the 1850's saw a new and firm economic interdependence between the Northeast and the West. Railroad construction in the 1850's, greater than in all previous decades combined, served to connect more securely than ever before the highly populated East with the vigorous young West. The facility of East-West transport, when combined with steadily increasing agricultural prices, proved that the new alliance was indeed worthwhile.⁵

Cementing the East-West economic alliance had positive political effects, too, as the ancient antagonism between the territorial expansionists of the West and the commercial expansionists of the East began to disappear. Political leaders like William Henry Seward of New York came to believe that certain territorial expansion could bring immense benefit to the maritime East. By 1859, as the East and West moved closer economically and politically, Californians and Oregonians, as well as northeasterners, were calling for annexation of Russian America.

Stimulated by the addition of California to the Union and European troubles in the Crimea, New England ship construction boomed in the fifties. Manufacturing exports showed substantial increases, and the total volume of all exports increased dramatically. Nevertheless, prosperity in the Northeast, and United States export trade in general, remained closely tied to European prosperity. The specie drain on England and France which resulted from the Crimean War caused a crisis in American specie reserves by 1857, and from October to December of that year New York bankers were forced to suspend all specie payments.⁶ During such times of financial setbacks, many Americans looked outward, and interest in Russian America grew to surprising heights from 1857 to 1861.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific Northwest in the 1850's the whaling boom continued. Northwest coast whale fishing maintained high profits for another dec-

ade. The main stimulus to this sustained profitability was the successful hunting of bowhead whales in the Okhotsk Sea, along the Kamchatka Coast, and in the Bering Strait.⁷ Russians in the area of Okhotsk reported that from 1850 to 1860 over 100 Yankee vessels fished there annually. Some Russian reports estimated that the total number of vessels annually fishing in the three areas ranged between 500 and 600. Depending upon which source one accepts, between 300 and 366 Yankee whalers could be found in these waters in the year 1857,⁸ and the total value of whale oil and bone imports reached the highest levels in the history of whale fishery in 1857. In the ten-year period ending in 1860, \$89.3 million of whale products were imported by United States whalers, an increase of \$18.7 million over the previous decade.⁹ This increase is especially impressive when one realizes that the years 1857 to 1860 witnessed a severe economic downturn which resulted in decreased investment in whaling and thus in fewer active whaling vessels.

The 1850's were a time of renewed interest in other enterprises in Russian America, as well. During this decade United States citizens' concern about the Russian possessions surpassed even that of the days of the lucrative sea-otter trade. The failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to keep the Russian Americans supplied with food, as required by the 1840 agreement between British and Russian companies, aided Yankee commercial penetration, and in 1848 the Russian-American Company refused to renew the Hudson's Bay Company's franchise to supply foodstuffs and supplies to the Russian colonies in North America.¹⁰ While the inflated prices of the late 1840's made it less profitable for San Franciscans to supply the Russians than to feed and clothe the newly-arrived fortune seekers, by 1851 the high prices of the gold rush had declined. Supplying the Russian possessions seemed to many Americans a new chance to strike it rich.

One such supply venture was the American-Russian Commercial Company (not to be confused with the Russian-American Company, chartered in Russia) which was founded in 1851 by San Francisco's most prominent attorneys and businessmen. The company's list of stockholders could be viewed with equal validity as a social directory of San Francisco in the early 1850's. Its president, Beverley C. Sanders, a lifetime Whig who had married Daniel Webster's niece, was appointed collector of the port of San Francisco by President Millard Fillmore in 1852.¹¹ Sanders' banking partner, Charles J. Brenham, a large stockholder in the Commercial Company, was mayor of San Francisco from 1851 to 1853.¹² William Burling, who served as the company's secretary, joined with William McPherson Hill, another stockholder, to form the brokerage firm of Burling and Hill in 1849.¹³ Samuel J. Hensley, a holder of a substantial number of shares in the American-Russian Commercial Company, had arrived in California in 1843 to work as a clerk for Captain John Sutter, and by 1850 Hensley was one of the richest men in California.¹⁴ Abel Guy, the owner of the largest block of Commercial Company stock, was a wealthy attorney in San Francisco.¹⁵ Archibald C. Peachy, a renowned California attorney, held a large number of shares. Brenham and Peachy often joined in real estate ventures with John L. Folsom, who had written an official government report at Secretary of State J. Clayton's request in 1849, urging the opening of Russian America to Yankee commerce.¹⁶

The American-Russian Commercial Company made its first contract with the



agent of the Russian-chartered Russian-American Company in San Francisco for 250 tons of ice to be shipped from Sitka at \$75 per ton (or \$18,750). In February, 1852, the American ship *Bacchus* arrived in San Francisco loaded with the ice. In October the Commercial Company succeeded in persuading the Russians to agree to reduce the price of future shipments of ice to \$35 a ton with the stipulation that the American company would take at least 1000 tons per year.¹⁷

During the Crimean War of the mid-1850's the Russian-American Company was hard-pressed for general supplies as well as for articles of daily necessity. Hence, the Russian company requested the American-Russian Commercial Company to supply these articles, which the San Francisco firm was happy to do for the price of a new and more favorable contract. In order to negotiate this contract Beverley Sanders travelled to St. Petersburg, after journeying to Washington in March, 1854, to obtain letters of recommendation from President



Shortly after the acquisition of Russian America in 1867, Harpers New Monthly Magazine featured an article entitled "Our New Northwest" which attempted to familiarize its readership with the geography, history, people and customs of the new territory. This map acquainted Americans with the Russian, British, and American possessions immediately before the purchase. New Archangel is the name given by the Russians to the establishment at Sitka.

Franklin Pierce and the Russian chargé, Baron Edward de Stoeckl.¹⁸ Once in St. Petersburg he persuaded the Russian-American Company directors to sign a twenty-year contract which would extend his company's trading privileges to coal and fish as well as ice. Under this new charter the San Francisco company would be the sole foreign firm permitted to trade for the ice, timber, coal, and fish from the Russian possessions in North America and from the Russian islands in the North Pacific Ocean. The American-Russian Commercial Company was also to be the chief supplier of foodstuffs and other necessities for the Russian colony.¹⁹ The Russian company, wishing to guarantee its supply of necessities during the Crimean War, had little choice but to agree to Sanders' terms. Since the proposed contract had a life of twenty years, a longer period than the Russian-American Company's charter, the Tsar, much to his displeasure, had to give special permission to the agreement.²⁰

From 1852 to 1859 the American company took 13,960 tons of ice from Sitka and 7,403 tons from Kodiak, or an average of about 3,000 tons per year. Indeed, during the Crimean War the American-Russian Company was the largest single supplier of goods to the Russian possession. In 1860 the Commercial Company signed a new contract with the Russian company under which the Russians were to furnish 3,000 tons of ice annually at \$7 per ton and agree not to sell ice to any other firm for less than \$25 per ton.²¹

The American-Russian Commercial Company sold most of its ice to San Francisco, but considerable amounts were exported to Mexican, Central, and South American ports. The company even made serious attempts to expand its sales to Asia. In 1858 an agent of the Commercial Company wrote to Messrs. Augustine Heard and Company of Hong Kong, China, inquiring "if it would not be profitable and possible to send cargoes of ice to your port or any other in China."²²

About the same time that the American-Russian Company was enlarging its designs upon the resources of Russian America, Perry M. Collins, an aggressive young man from California, arrived in Washington, D.C., to present an elaborate and assuming plan to President Franklin Pierce. Collins informed the president that the recent Russian acquisition of the Amur River region in Eastern Siberia could be of great value to American merchants. For years, Collins reminded Pierce, Americans had been trading in the Russian possessions in Asia. If United States traders were to utilize the Amur they not only could capture the interior trade of Russian Asia, which Collins alleged was worth \$50 million a year, but they could also tap the markets of China and Japan, which navigation of the Amur would more fully open.²³

Collins' assessment of the movement of American traders was correct. Since these traders and whalers had first penetrated the Russian-American possessions in the early nineteenth century, they had slowly moved up the coast and across the ocean to the Russian possessions of Kamchatka and Okhotsk in Asia. The Russian-American Company which administered these areas had tried unsuccessfully to exclude these independent agents. No doubt Collins first learned about the wonders of the Amur from these traders, many of whom had stopped in California.²⁴

Having informed the president of the situation, Collins proposed that the president send him to the Amur River region "to look at it in a commercial point of view and open it up to commerce by way of this river; present to the knowledge of our people the nature and extent of this country." The Amur region, he argued, was "so important" to the growth and commerce of California, Oregon, and Washington. "In California," he noted, "our productions (aside from gold) are already seeking a market in exchange for such commodities as she does not produce."²⁵ Fortunately, Collins' letter and the urgings of the California delegation to Congress fit well with the expansionist inclinations of Pierce and Secretary of State William Marcy, and on March 24, 1856, Perry M. Collins was appointed United States commercial agent to the Amur River.²⁶

Arriving in St. Petersburg, Collins received the instant attention of the United States minister to Russia, Thomas Seymour. Marcy had instructed the minister to extend all possible assistance to Collins, and Seymour viewed his commission

seriously.²⁷ Through the United States legation's influence and hard work, Collins was able to leave for the Amur River region with full Russian governmental approval by December, 1856. The American agent, moreover, was to travel to the Amur in the company of the governor general of eastern Siberia, Nicholai Muraviev. During the next year Collins explored the Amur region and wrote to Marcy and his successor, Lewis Cass, of the many possibilities this region held for American commerce. He referred to the Amur as the "Mississippi" of Siberia, noting that the increasing Yankee trade at Kamchatka could expand up the Amur to tap the immense trade of northern Asia. This trade, Collins predicted, "will not be confined alone to the Russian possessions, but will extend into the Tartaries, Bukaria, Northern China, and Thibet, so as to take in the whole range of trade." He suggested that the Amur could be penetrated easily from the American west coast on a line with Kamchatka, or from Hawaii via the same route.²⁸

Before Collins returned to the United States by way of San Francisco in December, 1857, he retained a "Vice Commercial Agent," George S. Cushing, a resident agent of W. A. Boardman and Company of Boston, to handle his affairs in Russia. Boardman and Company had been active in the Russian-American trade for over a quarter of a century and was extending its operations from Kamchatka to the Amur. Apparently, Cushing was only too happy to tend shop for the United States commercial agent on leave.²⁹

Collins' return to Washington in 1858 brought a deluge of publicity to his venture. His reports were published in the press and utilized by some congressmen as another reason for speedy construction of a transcontinental railway.³⁰ More important, Collins' adventure caught the attention of Hiram Sibley, the president of Western Union Telegraph Company. Collins had suggested, among other things, the construction of an overland telegraph system that would link Asia and Europe to the United States via Russian America. The commerce tapped along the Amur would then flow eastward to the American West, as would the communications system of Europe and Asia. Sibley seemed just the man to back the flamboyant project.³¹

In 1859 Collins set out once again for the Amur. For the next two years he worked to gain a charter from the Russian government, and while he would not be successful until 1863, Collins and Sibley won the support of the Lincoln Administration for their project by 1861. Not even the Civil War would hamper their grand design.³²

Additional schemes involving Yankee enterprise in Russian America cropped up repeatedly before 1861. Like the Collins overland line, most of those projects were grandiose in vision. Some brought their authors profits, like the American-Russian Commercial Company; others, like Joseph Lane McDonald's, ended less happily. McDonald's interest in Russian America began in the 1840's when he worked in the fishing trade at New Bedford. During this period New Bedford sent almost all of its whaling fleet to the northwest coast, and McDonald heard many tales from returning whalers about the valuable waters along the Russian-American coast. In 1858 he arrived in San Francisco, not in search of gold, but to find fishing grounds. In 1859 McDonald explored the coastline from Oregon to the Arctic, reporting that the Russian-American coastline was a fishing treasure that surpassed all his expectations. Returning to San Francisco in the late fall,

McDonald formed a commercial company, including in its membership the Russian consul at San Francisco. McDonald needed a lease from the Russian-American Company for the privilege of exploiting the saltwater fisheries along the Russian-American coast, but the Russian consul failed in his attempts to persuade the Russian governor to grant the privilege. McDonald then wrote to Secretary of State Lewis Cass requesting aid. Cass replied that national troubles precluded any action at that time and that McDonald should "wait for a more convenient season." Persistent, McDonald wrote to Senator William McKendree Gwin of California who was more receptive. No doubt part of the impetus behind Gwin's proposal to the Russian minister in Washington, D.C., Edward de Stoeckl, in late 1859 for the purchase of the Russian possession came from McDonald's request. Nevertheless, the imminence of the domestic rebellion dampened McDonald's efforts to obtain fishing rights along the Russian-American coast in the same way it stalled Gwin and Appleton's later attempt to purchase it.³³

The American Civil War, though a domestic catastrophe, proved to be more an annoyance than a stumbling block to continued Yankee enterprise in Russian America. Most firms dealing with the Russian colony suffered little as a result of the war. While northwest-coast whalers were subjected to occasional attacks from the Confederate Navy, the American-Russian Commercial Company and the Collins Overland Line Company expanded their plans and operations. Likewise, Joseph Lane McDonald's schemes took on new dimensions during the war. Additional firms wishing to join in the Russian-American trade formed as the last battles were being fought in the South. Politically and diplomatically, however, the war between the states made acquisition of the tsar's colony impracticable. Nevertheless, as early as December, 1863, Secretary of State William H. Seward began planning for the purchase of Russian America, and on March 29, 1867, two years after the conclusion of the Civil War, the secretary of state signed the Treaty of Cession with Russian Minister Baron de Stoeckl.

Throughout the 1857 to 1861 economic recession, and despite the resulting decreased investment in whaling, the Pacific Northwest whaling grounds continued to be the mainstay of the American whaling industry. While many whaling ports ceased their operations, between 1857 to 1867 the ports of New Bedford and New London continued to make substantial profits from the northwest coast whale fishery.³⁴ Nevertheless, investors who once had speculated in whaling turned to investment in cotton mills which suddenly sprang up in the old northeastern whaling ports during the middle 1850's.³⁵ Cotton mills were a safer, and, as it turned out, a more lucrative investment than bowhead whales. (The first cotton mill in New Bedford was founded by Joseph Grinnell, the whaling industry's spokesman in Congress.³⁶) The discovery of oil in Pennsylvania in 1859, however, signalled the finale for whaling as a profitable investment. With the rapidly spreading use of kerosene, whale oil lamps began to disappear from America.³⁷ Even so, whaling continued in the North Pacific waters throughout the American Civil War, and because the southern rebels believed that these whalers were very important to the northern economy, Confederate privateers continually harassed them in the Pacific Northwest, de-

stroying more than fifty vessels and requisitioning many more.³⁸ At the time of the sale of Russian America to the United States in 1867, some 90 to 100 American-owned whaling vessels were still hunting in the waters near Russian America, Okhotsk, Kamchatka, and the Bering Strait.³⁹

During the period of American civil strife, the American-Russian Commercial Company continued its enterprises in the Russian possession. By 1863 the American company was purchasing over 3,000 tons of ice per year from Russian America.⁴⁰ Frederick Whymper, the English explorer and author who travelled in Alaska shortly after the purchase, considered the ice industry by itself important enough to justify the purchase.⁴¹ George Davidson, who was sent by Seward to make a survey and report on Alaska in November, 1867, wrote that the Commercial Company sold 3,200 tons of ice annually to San Francisco alone.⁴² In the same month the *Alta California* reported that the ice company was "enlarging operations" and that during the next year it would "transport 20,000 tons of ice. . . ."⁴³

Like the Commercial Company's ice business, the Collins telegraph scheme continued during the war. Having returned to the Amur in 1859, Collins received powerful support from Secretary of State Cass⁴⁴ and Cass' Republican successor, William Henry Seward,⁴⁵ as well as the constant attention of Hiram Sibley in his efforts to obtain a charter for his telegraph company.⁴⁶ At Seward's direction the Russian Imperial government was advised that if they granted a charter to Collins, the United States government would subsidize the building of the line.⁴⁷ Finally, in May, 1863, the Russian government agreed to grant Collins his charter.⁴⁸

Collins' success in Russia brought him quick rewards in the United States. Sibley readily persuaded his board of directors of Western Union to purchase the rights which Collins had obtained by the charter. They paid \$100,000 and 10 per cent of the stock issued by the company created to construct the line. Collins was also appointed to the board of directors of Western Union and made manager of the Collins Overland Line Company which was charged with stringing the telegraphic line.⁴⁹ By the end of 1864 Collins was again off to Russia. This time his traveling companion was Hiram Sibley.⁵⁰

Collins and Sibley met with the emperor and Foreign Minister Gorchakov. For the next several months the American visitors haggled with the Russian government over the rebate the Russians would receive from the telegraphic operations. While the Imperial government desired a 40 per cent rebate, Sibley thought that 20 per cent would be a fair compromise. Grudgingly Sibley acquiesced to the 40 per cent figure and hoped that the United States minister, Cassius M. Clay, would be able to gain a reduction later.⁵¹

During his conversations with Gorchakov, Sibley indicated that if the British government had not agreed to allow the telegraphic line to pass through British Columbia, he would have purchased the Hudson's Bay Company which retained a charter from the British Crown in that area. Sibley named a sum of money which he would have offered for the Hudson's Bay Company. Gorchakov replied that for a few dollars more, the Russian government would be willing to sell its possession in North America. Sibley rapidly pursued the line of conversation. He asked the foreign minister for permission to inform the United States govern-

ICE. ICE.

San Francisco, March 31 1866

Mr. Watson

Bought of American Russian Commercial Company. ✓

D. E. MARTIN, Superintendent.

Agnes & Delfsch print

OFFICE—CORNER BROADWAY AND BATTERY STREETS.

March 1st to 1st 20^{lb}
" 1st " 11th 35^{lb}
" 11th " 15th 35^{lb}
" 15th " 25th 35^{lb}
" 25th to 31st 35^{lb}

16th Dec 5th P. -
Bill for Feb. 1866 7. 15th
Jas W. Foster

Testifying to the American Russian Commercial Company's trade in ice from Russian America is this invoice for the month of March, 1866, which details four shipments of ice totalling 160 pounds to a Mr. Watson.

ment of Russia's willingness to part with Russian America.⁵² Gorchakov had no objection, and Seward was quickly informed.⁵³

Seward immediately instructed the American minister to Russia to invite the tsar's brother, Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich, to the United States. Seward learned from the dispatches of his ministers in Russia that Constantine had been an early and consistent advocate of the cession of Russian America to the United States. "I think it [a visit by Constantine] would be beneficial to the United States," the secretary of state wrote to Clay on December 26, 1864, "and by no means unprofitable to Russia." Seward added, "I forbear from specifying my reasons. They will readily occur to you, as they would to his Imperial Highness, if his thoughts were turned in that direction."⁵⁴ There can be no doubt that Seward was speaking of the acquisition of Russian America, because the secretary of state sent this letter, along with other documents relating to the purchase of Alaska, to the House of Representatives in 1868 in an attempt to persuade the House to pay for the territory for which the administration had negotiated. Constantine decline the invitation, but Seward later obtained from Minister Stoeckl the concession he desired from Constantine.⁵⁵

While the Collins telegraph line was never completed, construction of the

line had begun before the project was abandoned,⁵⁶ and Perry Collins had excited American interest in the Russian-held areas of Asia, helping to extend American commerce from the Russian-American Company's possession in Kamchatka and Okhotsk to Siberia. It is clear that this increased American presence in Russian Asia was to become a prime consideration in the Russian government's decision to sell Russian America to the United States. Moreover, during the American Civil War, Collins and Sibley kept the door open for the eventual resurgence of American governmental interest in the acquisition of Russian America.

Like Collins, Joseph Land McDonald sustained his efforts during the Civil War period and gained additional supporters for his fishing schemes. He moved his base to Puget Sound in Washington Territory, and in 1863 he was appointed chief clerk of the lower legislative house of the territory. When the war ended, McDonald recommended his activities to obtain fishing rights in Russian America. This time his plans were more grandiose: he proposed the formation of an "Oriental and Occidental Railroad and Steamship Company" to transport goods from Europe to Asia via the United States and Russian America. This corporation would in turn, he asserted, be a parent to many subsidiary concerns such as cod packets, whaling, and the manufacturing of fishery products.⁵⁷

Deciding that it might be more productive to begin his ventures with a smaller but still ambitious undertaking, McDonald conceived the "Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company" whose aim would be to control commerce and fishing along the Pacific Northwest coast from Puget Sound to the Arctic Ocean. On October 4, 1864, "The Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company," with capital stock amounting to \$50,000, issued its prospectus. The resumé claimed that "the convenience of safe harbors and the prospective travel and commerce on Puget Sound, renders the immediate organization and incorporation of a Steam Navigation Company indispensable." The Puget Sound Company, alleged the prospectus, had "been in correspondence with steamship owners 'beyond the seas' . . .," and success and profits were "just around the corner." The company's incorporation bill easily passed the Washington legislature.⁵⁸

More difficult was the securing of the right from the Russian-American Company to trade and fish along the coast of Russian America. In January, 1866, McDonald used his influential position as chief clerk of the legislature to prevail upon the territorial lawmakers to send a memorial to President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State Seward requesting the United States government "to obtain such *rights and privileges* of the Government of Russia, as will enable our fishing vessels to visit the harbors of its possessions. . . ." The memorial noted that "vast quantities of cod, halibut, and salmon of excellent quality are found along the shores of Russian-America." But for Americans to reap the benefits of this fishing trade, they must be allowed to obtain "fuel, water and provisions"; the right to have sick and disabled fishermen receive sanitary assistance; and the "privilege of taking and curing fish and repairing vessels." McDonald's memorial concluded by requesting that the government "employ such ships as may be spared from the Pacific Naval Fleet in surveying the fishing banks. . . ."⁵⁹

Perhaps not surprisingly, McDonald's expansive schemes soon collapsed. The Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company did buy one ship but soon went

bankrupt.⁶⁰ The pressures McDonald exerted on the federal government were, nonetheless, very useful to the expansionist-minded Seward. The secretary of state later stated that "the memorial of the legislature of Washington Territory" was used to persuade Baron de Stoeckl of "the importance of some early and comprehensive arrangement between the two countries to prevent the growth of difficulties arising out of the fisheries in the Russian possessions."⁶¹ Both Seward and Stoeckl realized that the American desire for fishing rights in Russian America was no chimera; past history had demonstrated that.

With the end of the Civil War, a fur trading issue once again demonstrated to the Russians that American entrepreneurs could not long be restrained by national boundaries; as with the McDonald schemes, the Yankee fur traders had influential and governmental support in pursuing their aims. In 1865, Lewis Goldstone, an American fur dealer in Victoria, British Columbia, developed a plan to obtain for a San Francisco-based company the Hudson's Bay Company's soon-to-expire sub-lease to the fur trade of the Russian-American mainland. Goldstone succeeded in inducing a number of influential persons to join him in this venture, including John F. Miller, collector of the port of San Francisco; Eugene Sullivan, Miller's successor; Samuel Brannan, one of the wealthiest men in California; Louis Sloss, a San Francisco businessman; and Judge E. Burke, brother-in-law of California Senator Cornelis Cole.⁶²

At first Goldstone only planned to obtain a sub-lease. Soon, however, he and his colleagues decided that if successful in obtaining the sub-lease, they would make a bid for a lease to the fur and trading rights for all the territory under the domain of the Russian company. This area included, in addition to the mainland, the Pribilof, Aleutian, Kurile, and Commander islands; the latter two islands belonged to Kamchatka in Asia. Goldstone purchased two schooners, the *Lord Raglan* and the *Native*, and sent them out "to make a thorough exploration" of the Russian-American coasts. During the next twelve months Goldstone launched three consecutive expeditions "to explore the 'jurisdiction' of the Russian-American Fur Company." Goldstone and his associates optimistically expended \$183,700 for these explorations. The San Francisco group prepared several maps of Russian America and a long report about the natural resources of the area. The maps and report were forwarded to California Senator Cole, a longtime associate of Seward's.⁶³

Cole was instructed to speak to Russian Minister Stoeckl in Washington to try to obtain Stoeckl's aid in persuading the Russian government "to invest us [Goldstone and Co.] with the right in trading in all the country between the British American line and the Russian archipelego." The San Franciscans thought these rights so valuable that they were willing to exceed the price the Hudson's Bay Company had been paying and, in addition, to aid in "ameliorating the conditions of the Indians by employing missionaries. . . ."⁶⁴

Senator Cole soon developed a strong interest in the venture, and by the end of 1866 he willingly took charge of the scheme.⁶⁵ After Stoeckl left for Russia in October, 1866, Seward persuaded Cole to work through United States Minister to Russia Clay to obtain the lease.⁶⁶ After receiving a letter from Clay in late December, Cole instructed his California colleagues "to have a company incorporated under the general corporation laws of California and. . . . Let the company

send our Minister in St. Petersburg a full power of attorney, and instructions how to act in purchasing this right of the Russian American Company." Cole suggested that the San Francisco company could also obtain "really valuable" mining privileges if they would "give the Directors of the Russian Company . . . blanc [sic] dollars (some limited amount) for the privileges asked. That is the only way to do the thing." The California senator also suggested that the company issue some stock to Clay "for his troubles and services, which are outside of his diplomatic duties."⁶⁷

Clay wrote to Cole on February 1, 1867, that the Russian government had informed him that the Hudson's Bay Company lease was up for renewal and that the government "could not enter into negotiations with us or your California Company" until the discussions with the Hudson's Bay Company were completed. Clay, however, assured Cole that if the Russians "can get off with the Hudson's Bay Company . . . we can make some arrangements with the Russian-American Company."⁶⁸ Later that month, Cole informed his associates that the minister's latest letter was "a new and not more encouraging phase of this affair," but suggested that they "had better organize as if you expected to succeed."⁶⁹

Neither Clay nor Cole realized that Stoeckl had been called back to St. Petersburg in order to complete plans to cede the Russian possession to the United States. Stoeckl returned to the United States in early February, 1867, and went to see Cole twice in March.⁷⁰ He was somewhat shocked on April 1 when Stoeckl informed him of the Treaty of Cession. The California senator lamented, "It would have been better if we could have obtained the privilege we desired—but if the treaty is ratified that scheme (of exclusiveness) will all be up."⁷¹ Writing to his brother-in-law after the treaty had won Senate confirmation, Cole sensed an irony in his role: the cession of Russian America, he observed, "sprang out of our negotiations for trading in fur. Baron Stoeckl said so. But we did not anticipate this result. . . . Our negotiations related *not* to acquisition *but* to exclusive privilege in the territory."⁷²

Stoeckl, of course, exaggerated the importance of the Cole and Goldstone negotiations. The decision to sell had been made over a period of years beginning in 1853, and the final decision was made by Gorchakov before Stoeckl returned to the United States.⁷³ Nevertheless, schemes like Cole's and Goldstone's contributed to the Tsar's decision to release the territory for \$7,200,000.

Indeed, the continued failure by Russia to keep United States citizens out of Russian America led some influential policy makers in St. Petersburg to urge the cession of the Russian possession to the United States long before the United States' inquiries. In 1853, for instance, Nikolai Muraviev, a staunch advocate of his country's expansion in Asia and conqueror of the Amur region for the imperial government, urged Tsar Nicholas to cede the Russian-American colonies to the United States. Muraviev reasoned:

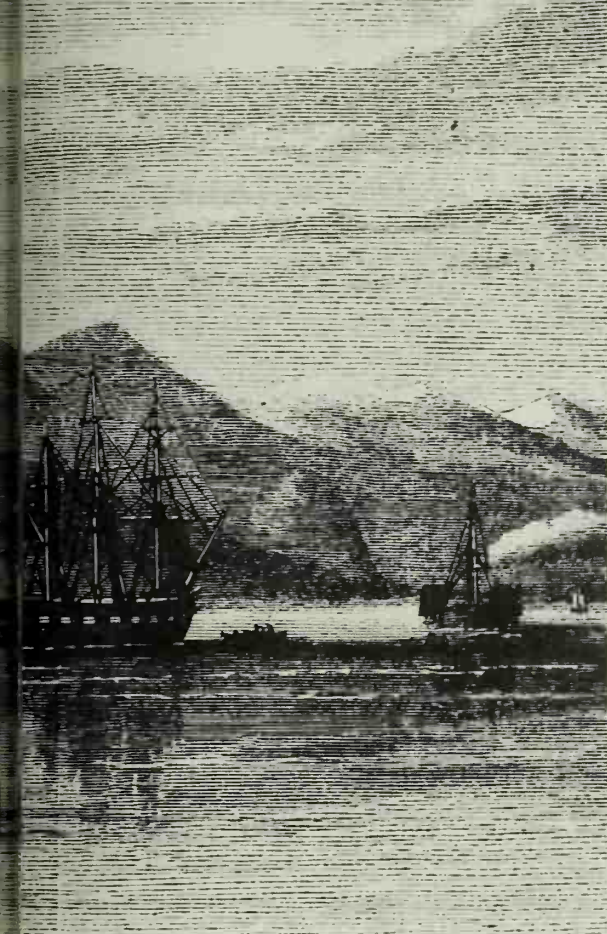
The ultimate rule of the United States over the whole of North America is so natural . . . that must ourselves sooner or later recede—but we must recede *peacefully* in return for which we might receive other advantages from the Americans. Due to its present amazing development of railroads, the United States will soon spread over all North America. We must face the fact that we will have to cede our North American possessions to them.



Moreover, the Russian expansionist believed other advantages would accrue to his nation in “yielding peacefully” to the United States in North America. Muraviev argued that Russia’s destiny was “if not to control the whole of Eastern Asia, at least to hold sway over the whole Asiatic Coast of the Pacific.” The Russian-American Company, he suggested, should be relocated and established “on Sakhalin whence its trade with Japan and Korea will develop.” Muraviev was convinced that cession of Russian America to the United States would sate the Yankees and permit the Russians to concentrate on Asia and their enemy there, the British. He hoped that in Asia “a close alliance between us and the United States” could be effected.⁷⁴

In fact, in 1854, at the beginning of the Crimean War, the Russian-American Company considered a fictitious sale of Russian America to the American-Russian Commercial Company in order to avoid its seizure by the British. The idea was quickly dismissed, though, because the Russian government realized that the British might see through the maneuver and seize the colony anyway. The Russians also feared that once the Yankees obtained Russian America, they might keep it. An Anglo-Russian agreement in 1855 declaring North America a sanctuary from the war neatly avoided a most unpleasant dilemma for the Russians. Rumors nevertheless appeared in the press alleging that Russia was willing to sell her North American possession to the United States.⁷⁵

In March, 1854, Senator William M. Gwin of California and Secretary of State Marcy notified Russian Chargé Stoeckl that if Russia were willing to sell, the



By the mid-nineteenth century New Archangel on the island of Sitka had become a busy trading outlet as well as a bustling metropolis boasting a cathedral, teahouse, and public gardens. Between 1852 and 1859 the American Russian Company took 13,960 tons of ice from the island alone, and fur trading remained profitable.

United States was willing to buy. Stoeckl responded that there was no truth to such rumors. The chargé informed his government of the conversation with the secretary of state and the senator. Once such ideas were planted in the American mind, noted Stoeckl, they were not easily uprooted. "They are dangerous neighbors," he warned, "and we must avoid giving them the least quarrel."⁷⁶

In January, 1856, Stoeckl wrote of his exasperation in trying to protect the interests of the Russian-American Company. Each year, he explained, because more and more Americans were settling in the Oregon Territory "in the neighborhood of our Northwest possessions" they would "put these extremes in actual danger" and be "a growing source of worries between the two governments."⁷⁷

Emperor Alexander II's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich, read Stoeckl's correspondence regarding American-Russian relations in North America with interest. Constantine had been trained for a career in the Imperial Russian Navy, and his tours of inspection had taken him to all corners of the empire. In 1855 he became minister of marine and at once took on the task of modernization and naval development. Determined to create for himself an independent sphere of action, he used his position as director of naval affairs to channel Russian expansion and commerce away from Europe toward the Far East, Central Asia, and the Mediterranean. As the Crimean War drew to a close, Constantine's power and influence were considerable.⁷⁸

In order to redirect Russian expansion, as well as to aid recovery from the Crimean War, Constantine urged his brother's government to consolidate its

wide-spread holdings. Like the Asian-expansionist, Nicholai Muraviev, the grand duke believed that the Russian empire's eastern border should be the Pacific coast of Asia. Russian America, he argued, was expendable. In December, 1857, Constantine prepared a long memorandum for Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov. The grand duke noted that "the Company could not proceed with its present system without involving our Government in . . . controversies with the Americans. . . ." If the company and the government continued to resist American trade with Russian America, Constantine feared the Americans would "harm not only the Company's trade, but all Russian trade in America." The emperor's brother then added his powerful voice in urging the Russian government to give up its North American possession to the United States:

Having in view the future development of Russia and the United States of America in accordance with their particular nature and in accordance with the historical significance of both states, Russia might endeavor to become stronger in her center in order to be able to hold those extremities which bring her real benefit. The United States of America following the natural order of things is bound to aim at the possession of the whole of North America and therefore there will be a time when we shall meet there. No doubt they shall take possession of our colonies without much effort and we shall never be in a position to regain them.⁷⁹

Foreign Minister Gorchakov, however, was unenthusiastic about giving up Russia's American possession, especially under the threat of force. He suggested to the grand duke that if Russia must cede her American possession to the United States, it would at least be politic to let the American government make the first step.⁸⁰

Other memoranda received by the foreign ministry advised following the course suggested by Constantine. In a memorandum entitled "Concerning the Cession of Our American Colonies to the Government of the United States" Baron F. P. Wrangell, who served as governor of Russian America in the 1830's, urged the Russian government to relinquish its colony to the Americans. Wrangell noted that the possessions were valuable for their "rich coal deposits, ice, construction timber, fish, and excellent seaports. . . ." The former governor noted, too, that "if it were not for the *fears of the future*, there could be no doubt that even twenty million silver rubles could not be regarded as complete remuneration for the loss of possessions which promise important results in the development of industrial activity." But, concluded Wrangell, "*anticipatory prudence*" dictated a cession to the United States.⁸¹

In his memorandum, Baron Wrangell discussed the treaty which the Russian-American Company had made "with the American-Russian Trading (formerly Ice) Company which would not expire until October 9-21, 1875. . . ." Later in April, Tsar Alexander reluctantly approved a "Highly Confidential Memorandum Concerning the Cession to the United States of Our Possessions in North America." Alexander noted on the memorandum that the "contract between our Company and San Francisco [American-Russian Commercial Company] . . . exceedingly reduce the value of our possessions in North America." This memorandum, which embodied Wrangell's suggestion, proposed that the negotiations with the United States should be carried out in secret and that the sale should take place four years hence (1861), when the Russian-American Company's charter expired.⁸²

If the government in St. Petersburg needed any further reasons to sell, its minister in Washington provided some additional support. On November 13, 1859, Stoeckl warned that if the Russian government continued to maintain a monopoly in North America which was, he believed, "more impossible than anywhere else," it would create "continual embarrassments provoking serious discussions between the two governments and injuring its own interests." The American government, Stoeckl feared, would retaliate by closing all its ports to Russians.⁸³ Stoeckl wrote on December 2 that Brigham Young and his Mormon followers were planning either to emigrate to the Hudson's Bay region or to settle "in our possessions." If the rumor was true, noted Stoeckl, and President Buchanan hoped it was, it "would place before us the alternative of providing armed resistance or of giving up part of our territory." When the emperor read this dispatch, he penned in its margin, "This supports the idea of settling henceforth the question of our American possessions."⁸⁴

By the end of 1859 Senator Gwin once more suggested a sale by the Russians. He told Stoeckl that \$5 million would be a fair price. Stoeckl informed Gorchako of Gwin's offer, telling the foreign minister that the American assistant secretary of state, John Appleton (who was on intimate terms with the president and virtually ran the state department), had supported the bid. The Russian minister thought his government should accept the offer. "The conquest of California dealt a fatal blow to the predominance of the English in the Pacific, and at the present time," Stoeckl believed, "the United States exercises there a control almost without limit." If it were not for the colony's small value, argued the minister, it "would not be safe from American filibusterers."⁸⁵ Stoeckl missed the point. For many United States citizens, Russian America was of considerable value. Before serious negotiations could begin, however, American domestic events intervened.

In July, 1867, Baron Stoeckl wrote a long memorandum to Prince Gorchakov in which he reviewed the events that led to the sale of Alaska. Stoeckl noted that if Russia had attempted to retain her possession she "would have encountered serious obstacles" from her "American neighbors." Tracing the history of United States-Russian relations in Russian America, beginning with the Treaty of 1824, the Russian minister noted how, time and again, the United States government had pushed to keep Russian America open to Yankee commerce. "But another problem," Stoeckl proclaimed, "menaced our possessions. I am speaking of American filibusterers who swarm in the Pacific. To their eyes this continent is their patrimony." Stoeckl explained, "It was hoped that the little resources of our colonies would shelter them from the rapacity of the filibusters, but it has been otherwise." While American citizens had many rich areas of their own to exploit, "the fish, the forests, and several other products [of Alaska] . . . have not escaped the lust of the Americans." The government of the United States, declared Stoeckl, was as culpable as her zealous citizens. Whenever the Russian government complained about encroachments by Americans, the United States government would reply, "if they [American citizens] commit disorders on your territory, it is up to you to defend it," knowing full well that it was impossible to do so.

Stoeckl concluded that Russia had been forced out of her American possessions: "Menaced by American neighbors our possessions would entangle us in serious disputes with the Federal Government and finish by becoming American prop-

erty." When Gorchakov read this dispatch he wrote "*très remarquable*" on top and sent it on to Alexander. The tsar added a notation below Gorchakov's: "Yes, and we must make an extract and publish it."⁸⁶

American commercial interest in Russian America during the fifteen years preceding the sale of Alaska and the Russian reaction to that interest opens to serious question the traditional interpretations of the Alaska purchase. The value of the Russian territory was not unknown to influential commercial and political leaders within the United States. Moreover, Russian policy makers, as well, were attuned to its value. Clearly, the Russians were motivated, at least in part, by the fear that increasing American commercial interest in Russian America might force the Russian colony into the fate of Spanish and French possessions in North America. A thorough investigation of American-Russian relations in the Pacific Northwest might uncover evidence that the Russians believed they had more to fear from the United States than is generally supposed and that, in part, that fear was justified. At the very least, the documented influence of American commercial interests makes it appropriate to conduct a critical reevaluation of the reasons for the sale of Russian America.

THE PHOTO on page 4 is courtesy The Bancroft Library; illustrations on pages 8-9 and 18-19 are reproduced from *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, July, 1867, pages 171 and 173. The billhead on page 14 is from the Eugene L. Sullivan papers in the CHS Manuscripts Collection.

NOTES

1. Thomas A. Bailey's 1934 article "Why the United States purchased Alaska" (*Pacific Historical Review*, III:40-41) places most of the responsibility on Seward's insatiable appetite for territory. Bailey also argues the corollary of this view that Americans were ignorant of Alaska's value: "Americans today probably know more about Antarctica than their countrymen knew about Russian America." *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 36 (New York: 1969). This same point of view, with an added emphasis on American innocence, is echoed in a more recent article on the Alaska purchase: Henry R. Huttenbach, "Sale of Alaska," *Alaska Review*, Spring-Summer, 1970, pp. 42-43.

2. Frank A. Golder came to this conclusion in 1920 in "The Purchase of Alaska," *American Historical Review*, XXV: 413. Golder's view has stood the test of time, being reargued by Victor J. Farrar, *Purchase of Alaska*, 19 (Washington: 1935); A. G. Mazour, "The Prelude to Russia's Departure from America," *Pacific Historical Review*, X:316 (Sept., 1941); and most recently by Peter M. Buzanski, "Alaska and Nineteenth Century Diplomacy," *Journal of the West*, 6:452 (1967). Buzanski, unlike many others, however, does argue that American desires to acquire Alaska manifested themselves well before 1867 (p. 451). But he does not tie the purchase to American commercial interests in Russian America.

3. For more on whaling before 1852, see Howard I. Kushner, "'Hellships': Yankee Whaling Along the Coasts of Russian America, 1835-1852," *New England Quarterly*, XLV:81-95 (March, 1972).

4. Joel H. Silbey, ed., *The Transformation of American Politics, 1840-1860*, 22-33 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1967).

5. For a view of the economic development of the United States during this period, see North, *Economic Growth of the United States*, 204-210; also, George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: 1951), esp. chapters 7, 8, 9, and 15.

6. See North, *Economic Growth of United States*, 210-213.

7. Walter S. Tower, *A History of American Whale Fishery*, 66 (Philadelphia, 1907); P. A. Tikhmenev, *The Historical Review of the Russian American Company*, II:159-161 (St. Petersburg, 1861-1863).

8. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 66, 121, 129; Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, 668; Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II: 159-161. According to the Department of Foreign Commerce's "Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Russian-American Colonies, pt. I:162 (St. Petersburg: 1863); from 1850 to 1860 there were an average of 600 United States vessels annually in Russian colonial waters. In 1854, the report claims that 525 Yankee vessels were counted, while 468 appeared in 1855. These figures seem a little inflated, but they indicate nevertheless the magnitude of the Yankee whaling effort in Russian America as viewed by the Russian Company.

9. Alexander Starbuck, *History of American Whale Fishery*, 2 vols. (orig. published as Part IV of Report of U.S. Commission on Fish and Fisheries, Washington, 1878), reprinted, II:660 (New York, 1961).

10. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:174-178.

11. *Annals of San Francisco*, 735-739. See also Norman E. Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders and the Expansion of American Trade with Russia, 1853-1855," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67:156-70 (Summer, 1972). Professor Saul kindly supplied the author with a complete list of the stockholders which he obtained from the Sanders Papers.

12. *Annals of San Francisco*, 735-739.

13. Burling and Hill, see William Burling Papers, California Historical Society, San Francisco; *Sketches of Leading and Representative Men of San Francisco*, edited by "Eminent Editors," 1875 edition, p. 806; *Early Days in California*, edited by G. W. Sullivan, I:218 (San Francisco: 1888).

14. For Samuel Hensley, see Obituary of S. J. Hensley, January 4, 1866, California Historical Society files, San Francisco.

15. For Abel Guy, see Abel Guy Papers, California Historical Society.

16. For a discussion of Folsom's report on Russian America, see Howard J. Kushner, "The Oregon Question is a Massachusetts Question," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 75 (December, 1974). Among the other San Franciscans who owned a large number of shares in the company were: John Caperton, notary public for the County of San Francisco, see John Caperton Papers, California Historical Society; James C. Ward and Robert Wells, partners in a rather successful real-estate speculation business, see James C. Ward Papers, *Ibid.*; J. Mora Moss, who succeeded Sanders as president of the company, was involved in numerous enterprises in the 1850's including the New Almaden-Quicksilver Mining Company (of which he was president) and the Sacramento Valley Railroad, see J. Mora Moss Papers, New Almaden Mining Co. Papers, 1854-1864, and Sacramento Valley Railroad Papers, *Ibid.* In November, 1852, Moss joined with Sanders to found the San Francisco Gas and Coal Company, incorporated with a capital stock of \$450,000, see *Annals of San Francisco*, 518.

17. N. Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies in North America," *Material for the History of Russian Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean*, pt. 2:182-84 (St. Petersburg: 1863), mss transl. by Ivan Petrov, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Department of Foreign Commerce, "Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Russian-American Colonies" (St. Petersburg: 1863), 2 pts., mss transl. by Petrov, Bancroft Library, I:126-129; Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:194; Bancroft, *Alaska*, 587; Andrews, "Alaska Under the Russians," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VIII:289 (Oct. 1916); E. L. Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, April, 1945, p. 121; Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 157-158; Tikhmenev (II:194) says that in the first contract, the American Company agreed to take 1200 tons of ice per year at \$20.25 per ton.

18. Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies," 183; Stoeckl to Gorchakov, March 10/22, 1854, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, edited by F. Al Golder, II:2 (Washington, 1917-1932); Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 159.

19. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:195; Golovnin, "Review of the Russian Colonies," 183-184; Saul, "Beverley C. Sanders," 159-164.

20. Saul, in "Beverley C. Sanders" (162-164), argues that the Russian government was pleased to sign the agreement with the American-Russian Ice Company, as the Commercial Company was often known. Saul's evidence, however, rests upon Sanders' *Diary*. On the other hand, both Tikhmenev (*Russian-American Co.*, II:195) and Russian sources show that the Russians reluctantly agreed to the contract because of the circumstances of the Crimean War. See Memorandum of Baron F. Wrangell to Tsar, April 9, 1857, National Archives (hereafter abbreviated as NA),

"Cessation of Alaska," annex 2; the tsar in a memorandum of April 29, 1857, noted that the contract with the American-Russian Ice Company had "exceedingly reduce[d] the value of our possession in North America." *Ibid.*, annex 3.

21. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:178, 197-198; Andrews, "Alaska Under the Russians," 289; Bancroft, *Alaska*, 287; Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 123, 128; *Alaska Herald*, Sept. 15, 1868; Golovnin's report (pp. 184-185) claimed that the 1860 contract was made because Sanders' company had defaulted on the 1854 agreement. Evidence for such a view is sketchy. Since the 1860 contract provided for the American company to purchase more ice at a cheaper price per ton, one suspects that Golovnin's analysis is incorrect. Nevertheless, the 1860 agreement does not deal with the sale of timber, coal, and fish. It may well be that the American company and the Russian company found that aspect of the previous agreement unworkable, especially after the Russian-American coal mining operation at Kenai Bay was destroyed by fire in early 1860. See F. A. Golder, "Mining in Alaska before 1867," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VII:236 (July, 1916).

22. Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 126. Apparently no bargain was reached with the Hong Kong merchants.

23. Collins to Pierce, Feb. 29, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*. Charles Vevier has written a most interesting and informative article about Collins' designs on the Amur and its relation to American expansion: "The Collins Overland Line and American Continentalism," *Pacific Historical Review*, 28:237-253 (August, 1959). While I have borrowed heavily from Vevier's work, I have rechecked the sources to understand the particular relationship of the Collins scheme to U.S. interest in Russian America.

24. By the end of 1843 the Russian-American Company had given up its earlier attempts to exclude Yankee traders in Russian Asia. See Todd to Webster, April 20/May 2, 1843, NA, *Despatches, Russia*; Todd to Upshur, Aug. 7/19, 1843, *Ibid.* Yet as late as 1860 the Russian company was lodging complaints against the behavior of Yankees in Russian Asia. See Cass to Stoeckl, Dec. 8, 1860, NA, *Notes to Russian Legation*.

25. Collins to Pierce, Feb. 29, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*.

26. Cass to James R. Clay, July 15, 1859, 35 Cong. 2 sess., House Exec. Doc. #53, pp. 1-4.

27. Seymour to Marcy, Nov. 1/13, 1856, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.

28. Collins to Marcy, July 24, 1856; Sept. 10, 1856; Nov. 18/30, 1856, NA, *Amoor River*; Extract from Collins notes, Feb. 28, 1857, enclosed in Collins to Cass, March 6, 1858, *Ibid.*

29. Collins to March, Dec. 17, 1857, *Ibid.*; Collins to Cass, Feb. 12, 1858, *Ibid.*

30. Vevier, "Collins Line," 243; *New York Herald*, April 8, 1858; Gwin and Chas. L. Scott to Cass, June 4, 1858, NA, *Amoor River*; Cong. Globe, 35 Cong. 2, pt. I, p. 471.

31. Collins to Cass, Sept. 20, 1859; NA, *Amoor River*; *Collins Amoor River Report*, 37 Cong. 2, House Exec. Doc. 45, p. 215.

32. Collins to Cass, Oct. 8, 1859; May 1, 1860, NA, *Amoor River*; Collins to F. W. Seward, Sept. 18, 1861, *Ibid.*

33. Victor J. Farrar, "Joseph Lane McDonald and the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII:83-84 (April, 1921); McDonald to Seward, July 15, 1867, 40 Cong. 2, House Exec. Doc. #177, p. 58.

34. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 52, 70-72.

35. *Ibid.*, 67.

36. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII:4.

37. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 76-77.

38. Andrews, "Alaska Whaling," 6.

39. Tower, *American Whale Fishery*, 129.

40. Tikhmenev, *Russian-American Co.*, II:197-198.

41. Frederick Whymper, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska*, 104-05 (New York: 1871).

42. *U.S. Coast Survey*, 1867, 40 Cong. 2 sess. Exec. Doc., #275, Appendix 18, pp. 210-211.

43. *Alta California*, Nov. 21, 1867; see also Keithahn, "Alaska Ice, Inc.," 125-128.

44. Collins to Cass, Oct. 8, 1859, May 1, 1860, NA, *Amoor River*.

45. Collins to F. W. Seward, Sept. 18, 1861, NA, *Amoor River*; Collins to Seward (and Memorandum to Cameron), June 9, 1862, *Ibid.*

46. Vevier, "Collins Line," 244.
47. Seward to Cameron, June 9, 1862, NA, *Instructions, Russia*; Cameron to Seward, July 23, 1862, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.
48. Clay to Seward, May 19, 1863, June 17, 1863, *Ibid*.
49. Vevier, "Collins Line," 245-246.
50. *Ibid.*, 247. Since the telegraphic cable also would have to pass through British Columbia, the approval of the British government was necessary. Seward instructed Charles F. Adams, U.S. Minister to Great Britain, to aid Collins in obtaining such rights. Adams was successful. See Seward to Adams, July 13, 1863, NA, *Instructions, G. B.*; Collins to F. W. Seward, Aug. 18, 1863, Dec. 31, 1863, and Feb. 8, 1864, NA, *Amoor River*. The Russian minister to the United States, Edward de Stoeckl, was awarded 300 shares in the Collins Line for "his distinguished aid and good offices . . . which greatly contributed to the advancement of the enterprise." Another 1000 shares were sent to Minister Cassius Clay for distribution to influential Russians.
51. Vevier, "Collins Line," 248-250.
52. *Ibid.*, 252.
53. Clay to Seward, Nov. 14, 1864, NA, *Despatches, Russia*.
54. Seward to Clay, Dec. 26, 1864, NA, *Instructions, Russia*.
55. *House Doc.* #177, 40 Cong. 2, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *House Doc.* #177).
56. In the winter of 1867, Western Union cancelled the building of the Collins Overland Line. The combination of Cyrus Field's successful laying of an Atlantic cable and the continued unwillingness of the Russian government to agree to a rebate of less than 40 per cent extinguished the line's chances for success. See Vevier, "Collins Line," 250-251.
57. Farrar, "McDonald and Alaska," 85-86.
58. *Ibid.*, 86-87.
59. "Memorial of the Legislature of Washington Territory to the President," received February, 1866, *House Doc.* #177, pp. 4-5; While the memorial was still before the Washington legislature, McDonald forwarded a printed copy to Secretary of State Seward with a long letter urging Seward to acquire such fishing privileges in Russian America for U.S. citizens as were enjoyed by them along the coasts of British America. McDonald to Seward, July 15, 1867, *Ibid.*, 58. In this letter McDonald refers to the earlier letter discussed, but I found no copy.
60. Farrar, "McDonald and Alaska," 89.
61. *House Doc.* #177, p. 4.
62. Lewis Goldstone, Memorial of Louis Goldstone, typed mss in Papers of Cornelius Cole, Powell Library, Dept. of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles; Goldstone, "Testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee," May 1, 1876. *House Reports* #623, 44 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 120-121; Cornelius Cole to Victor J. Farrar, Sept. 10, 1923, in Farrar, "Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XIV:243-44 (Oct. 1923); Cole was 101 years old when this letter was written, but Farrar claims that Cole was still very lucid. See also Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs*, 281-82 (New York: 1908). Samuel Brannan was a very active partner in the Goldstone group. Brannan had come to San Francisco in 1846, and in 1847 he founded the California *Star*, the parent newspaper of the *Alta California*. His numerous real estate ventures made him, according to the 1855 edition of the *Annals of San Francisco* (p. 752), "the wealthiest man . . . in all California." In the late 1850's and early 1860's Brannan invested his wealth, establishing banking, railway, telegraph, and express companies; see *Dictionary of Amer. Biog.* II:601-602. Also see Cole to Burke, Oct. 22, 1867, The Papers of Cornelius Cole, Powell Library, UCLA. For more on the company's founding, see Rudolf Glanz, *The Jews in American Alaska, 1867-1880*, p. 7 (New York: 1953).
63. Goldstone, "Memorial."
64. Goldstone or Sullivan (president of company) to Cole, April 10, 1866, *House Doc.* #177, p. 133. Cole was born in Lodi, New York (ten miles north of Ithaca), in 1822. He read law in the Auburn office of William H. Seward (Seward, Morgan, and Blatchford) in 1847-1848. For the rest of his life Cole regarded Seward as his mentor. He left for California in 1849 to seek his fortune in gold. For the next twelve years he maintained a constant correspondence with Seward on the political and economic conditions of California and the Pacific Northwest. In the early 1850's Cole urged Senator Seward to push for a Pacific coast survey, which Seward did in his 1852 report on whaling. The Seward Papers contain over fifty letters between the two men beginning in 1849

and continuing until Seward's tenure as secretary of state ended. See esp. Cole to Seward, Dec. 14, 1849; June 17, 1856; Nov. 15, 1850; June 19, 1856; June 3, 1860; Seward to Cole, Dec. 25, 1867. Also see Cole, *Memoirs*, 3, 97-98.

65. Cole to Burke, Dec. 4, 1866, Cole Papers.

66. *House Doc.* #177, p. 133.

67. Cole to Burke, Jan. 24, 1867, *Ibid.* (Italics in orig.).

68. Clay to Cole, Feb. 1, 1867, *House Doc.* #177, p. 133.

69. Cole to Burke, Feb. 23, 1867, Cole Papers.

70. Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 282-283.

71. Cole to Burke, April 1, 1867, Cole Papers.

72. Cole to Burke, April 10, 1867, *Ibid.*

73. Gorchakov to Alexander, Dec. 1866, NA, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 13.

74. Hallie M. McPherson, "The Interest of William McKendree Gwin in the Purchase of Alaska, 1854-1861," *Pacific Historical Review* 11:29-30 (March 1934); Stuart R. Tompkins, *Alaska, Promyshlennik & Sourdough*, 174-75 (Norman, Okla.: 1945).

75. New York *Herald*, July 20, 1854; July 25, 1854; London *Times*, Aug. 8, 1854; *House Doc.* #177, p. 46; F. A. Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," 412.

76. *House Doc.* #177, p. 46; Stoeckl, quoted in Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," 412 (author's translation from the French).

77. Stoeckl to Nesselrode, Jan. 1856, in *Ibid.*, 413 (author's translation).

78. For a discussion of some particular aspects of Constantine Nikolaevich's plans for redirection of Russian policy, see W. E. Mosse, "Russia and the Levant, 1856-1862; Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich and the Russian Steam Navigation Company," *Journal of Modern History* 26:39-48 (March 1954).

79. Constantine to Gorchakov, Dec. 7, 1857 (o.s.). Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, translation of facsimile.

80. Gorchakov to Constantine (Dec., 1857), NA, RG 59, "Papers Relating to the Cession of Alaska," Annex 1. The National Archives lists this undated letter as December, 1856, but since it is a response to Constantine's letter of December 7, 1857, dealing with the cession of Russian America (footnote 79), this letter must have been written in December, 1857, not 1856.

81. Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell, "Concerning the Cession of the American Colonies to the Government of the United States," April 9, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 2 (emphasis in original).

82. "Memorandum Concerning the Cession to the United States of Our Possessions in North America," April, 1857 (tsar's notation date: April 29, 1857) *Ibid.*, Annex 3. The tsar was particularly annoyed that the American-Russian Commercial Company had been able to use the Crimean War as a lever to obtain a more favorable treaty in 1855 from the Russian company.

83. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Nov. 13, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 5.

84. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Dec. 2, 1857, *Ibid.*, Annex 4.

85. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, Jan. 4, 1860, NA, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 6 (author's translation). Gwin worked with Beverley C. Sanders, head of the American-Russian Commercial Company, during the Crimean War to get Sanders' company the trading rights to supply the Russian company, and, in the process, a more favorable contract with the Russians. See Benjamin P. Thomas, *Russian-American Relations, 1815-1867*, p. 115 (Baltimore: 1930). Capt. N. Folovnin, who was sent to Russian America by Emperor Alexander in 1860, complained about Gwin's enthusiasm for the Russian colony, stating that Senator Gwin and others had advanced the argument that "the Americans would have a perfect right to close their ports to Russian ships as long as our ports in Russian-America will not admit American vessels." Golovnin pointed out that "Senator Gwin was canvassing for a four-year term and therefore raised several questions to show their electors to what degree he was occupied with his country's welfare. With this object he advanced also the alleged desires of California businessmen to obtain free access to the Russian Colony." As far as Golovnin was concerned, Gwin was just another of those American politicians "whose whole working and striving is bent to the means of obtaining . . . the largest number of voters and by their help to be elected Representatives to Congress, i.e., to get a profitable position with all facilities for filling their pocket." Golovnin "Report on Colonies," 202-202.

86. Stoeckl to Gorchakov, July 12/24, 1867, NA, RG 59, "Cession of Alaska," Annex 43 (author's translation).

Connazionali, Stenterello, and Farfariello: Italian Variety Theater in San Francisco

DEANNA PAOLI GUMINA

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ON SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 9, 1905, crowds of excited Italian *connazionali* (countrymen) jammed San Francisco's Apollo Hall, renamed for that evening Teatro Apollo, to hear the acclaimed Neapolitan *canzonettista*, Antonietta Pisanelli, and a troupe of hastily-gathered amateur performers sing their way through a varied program of songs and sketches. The performance, highlighted by the Signora's portrayal of the character "Santuzza" from the one-act drama, *Cavalleria Rusticana*, and followed by her role in the one-act farce, *Prestami Tua Moglia Per Dieci Minuti* (*Lend Me Your Wife For Ten Minutes*), had lived up to its billing which promised an extraordinary grand evening. The exciting performance also marked the debut of the Italian colony's first impresario, and under her direction, the emergence of the professional *Teatro Italiano* that was to become, for a time, a central social institution in the half-century-old San Francisco Italian community.¹

Until Signora Pisanelli's presentation, Italian theater-goers had been entertained by amateur drama groups, *compagnie filodrammatiche*, composed of more and less talented volunteers from social clubs in the Italian colony.² Although sporadic, their performances were well-received by Italian audiences anxious to hear their favorite operatic arias and folk songs sung in the melodic mother tongue. Plagued by a paucity of funds and uneven talent, however, these *compagnie filodrammatiche* were destined for extinction unless a director with a quick head for finances and a sharp ear for talent took the reins.

San Francisco variety theater found its impresario in the person of Antonietta Pisanelli, a vivacious, shrewd, and altogether remarkable personality whose knowledge of Neapolitan songs and energy for new enterprises were just what was needed in the Italian community. Pisanelli had emigrated to America as a small child and made her debut in New York in 1895. Her love for theater carried her to Philadelphia, Chicago, and New Haven where she sang and acted, and back to New York where she helped organize four or five theaters. A series of personal tragedies—the loss of her mother, her husband, and her youngest child—plagued her personal life, however, and in a desperate move, she fled the East for California in 1904. Encouraged by the response to her brilliant performance at the Teatro Apollo, she decided to settle in San Francisco and to accept the challenge of molding the city's amateur drama clubs into a professional popular theater company.

TEATRO APOLLO
 510 PACIFIC STREET, vicino a Stockton St.

Domenica Sera, 9 Aprile

**Grande Serata
 Straordinaria**

SPETTACOLO VARIATO
 ad Onore e Beneficio dell'esimia Canzonettista

La Sagra PISANELLI

Canzone da sala
 A. ...
 A. ...
 A. ...
 F. ...



Signor Luigi Soprano

...
 ...
 ...

...
 ...
 ...

Sig.ra Antonietta PISANELLI

Cavalleria Rusticana

Scene Drammatiche Popolari di G. Verga
 Musica del Maestro Pietro Mascagni

Toradillo, A. BELLUCCI, Compagno, ANTONIETTA PISANELLI, Z. BELLUCCI, F. BELLUCCI, Z. BELLUCCI, F. BELLUCCI, Z. BELLUCCI, F. BELLUCCI
 Scenografo, N. ...
 Costumi, ...

Finira lo Spettacolo con la brillantissima farsa tutta da ridere:
**PRESTAMI TUA MOGLIE
 PER DIECI MINUTI**

DOPO LO SPETTACOLO GRAN BALLO

Ingresso, 25 Cents Posti Riservati, 50 Cents



On April 9, 1905, the North Beach Italian community poured into Apollo Hall for a stunning performance by the versatile Antonietta Pisanelli, described in the program (left). She soon became the impresario of Italian variety theater.

From the Pacific Street Apollo Hall which she had rented for her own debut, Signora Pisanelli coached her aspiring musical family. Fumbling singers and actors were quickly replaced with smooth, well-trained voices, and within a brief period, Pisanelli's hard work paid off. A steady increase in nightly attendance convinced her that her troupe of artists were adequately accomplished to support small-scale productions. With this in mind, the Signora Impresario soon moved her theater from the cramped quarters of the Teatro Apollo to the larger Bersaglieri Hall on the corner of Stockton and Union streets across from Washington Square.³

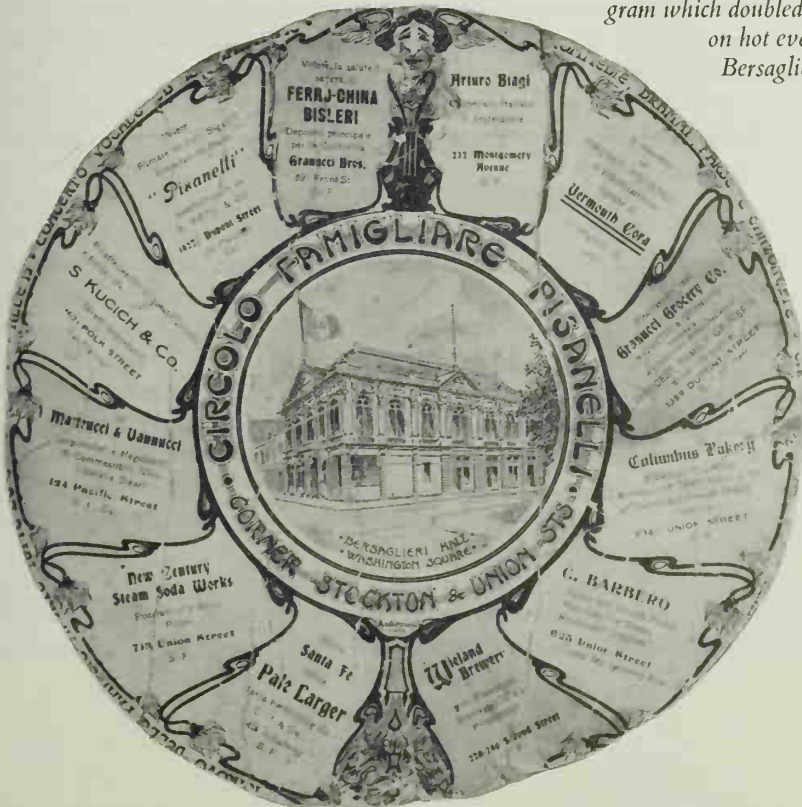
Leased for ten years, the new Teatro Bersaglieri became the social gathering place in the colony. Originally built as a theater, the Bersaglieri underwent a major renovation within twenty-four hours when city fire officials ordered it closed unless Pisanelli complied with fire safety regulations. Compelled by this show of muscle, Pisanelli reconverted her theater into a combination cafe-chantant, theater, opera house, and club. Renamed the Circolo Famigliare Pisanelli, the theater was divided into two sections. The neat rows of theater seats

were removed and replaced with tables and chairs in the fashion of a cafe-chantant. In lieu of an admission fee, refreshments were served in this area. Overlooking the family circle, observed opera buff J. M. Scanland in the *Overland Monthly*, was the balcony where the "gallery gods" sat and ate their rock candy and almond confections.⁴

The lengthy repertoire offered by the Circolo changed every evening to satisfy the melodramatic tastes of the audience. As American theater lovers who ventured into the Circolo noted, the Italian audiences exhibited not only an inherent love of music but were natural-born performers who knew their music note for note. At approximately 8 P.M., or whenever the theater was filled, the evening performance commenced. The show consisted of an endless potpourri of opera, comedy, farce, tragedy, duets, solos, and song fests. Between the featured acts of entertainment ran intermissions which were a show in themselves. Usually, Signora Pisanelli sang operatic arias or the favorite Neapolitan folk songs of the *connazionali*, while members of the cast waited nervously to grab back the spotlight from her long enough to charm the audience with their own voices. On the nights when drama replaced "Gems From The Opera," the musical interlude was enhanced with short burlesque skits or one-act character sketches.⁵

To expect the unexpected from both the audience and performers was the cardinal rule of the *Teatro Italiano*. After a hard day's work, Italian audiences were too restless to sit through any performance which did not allow them the pleasure of active participation in the festivities. Throughout the history of Italian theater, the most stimulating moments came when the audience, thoroughly aroused by the performance, energetically participated in the program.

Pisanelli distributed this program which doubled as a fan on hot evenings at Bersaglieri Hall.



Spontaneity, vitality, variety, and outbursts of boisterous enthusiasm dominated an evening's entertainment, as the audience never permitted the actors to forget that they were the final judges of the *soirée*. In keeping with this spirit, memorization of lines, strict attention to format, and display of elaborate stage sets were not considered essential to the nature of the Italian theater. Instead, the most noteworthy requisite possessed by an actor or singer was his ability to improvise lines and create the necessary scenic effects through gesture and pantomime.⁶

Then, less than a year after its opening, the flowering of the Circolo was interrupted on the morning of April 18, 1906, when a destructive earthquake and fire destroyed North Beach. Three days prior to this historic event, Pisanelli had sold her Circolo for \$20,000 and was on her way to the city of Saint Louis in the hopes of furthering her own career. By 1907 her fling in the Midwest had ended, and she returned to San Francisco to gather and rebuild the shattered remnants of her beloved theater.

With the help of her young protegee, Mario Scarpa, the two singers opened three small nickelodeon-type theaters: the Iris Theatre on Broadway Street, the Bijou Theatre on Montgomery Avenue (later Columbus Avenue) and Stockton Street, and the Beach Theatre on the corner of Vallejo Street and Montgomery Avenue across from St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church. Eager to restore the Italian theater's prominence to its pre-earthquake vitality, the Italian *connazionali* flocked to see the featured nickel and dime shows.⁷

Small, inadequate, and obviously lacking the prestigious appearance of the Italian colony's former theatrical houses, these three theaters with their flickering movies and vaudeville acts introduced a new dimension to Italian variety theater. Because Italians placed great social emphasis upon the province from which another Italian has originated, the presentation of a regionally-oriented style of comedy in these new theaters was so appealing that it rivaled the performances of the most celebrated opera.

While the main parts of a tragedy or comedy were spoken in the pure Italian, i.e., in the Tuscan, dialect, idiomatic expressions and slang terms spoken in one of the many Italian dialects purposely were added to the act to amuse the members of the audience from that region.⁸ The focal point of each play was the entrance of a special character representative of one of the Italian regions. From Naples came the caricature mimick, *Pulcinello*, while from Sicily hailed the fond *Pasquino*. The Piedmontese regionals laughed at their *Gianduja*, the Milanese at their *Menaghinò*, the Venetians at their *Zacometto*, and the Tuscans at their *Stenterello*.

Emerging as the most popular of all the regional caricatures was the eighteenth-century Florentine, *Stenterello*. Originally a political creation, the *Stenterello* was an anti-French xenophobe who strongly favored Italian unification and independence.⁹ As the years passed, the term *Stenterello* became synonymous for the Florentine man on the streets. Impulsive, generous, and a lover of poetic justice, he could also be cleverly stupid and arrogant.

It was at the Bijou Theatre that the first *Stenterello* performance was staged. Playing the lead was Arturo Godi, a member of the Cesare Company from New York, who was recognized as the most outstanding *Stenterello* actor in the Italian

colony. First appearing on stage in the middle of a scene, his make-up included purple circles around his eyes and red-and-white blotches on his face, and his hair was styled in a queue. Costumed in a florid jacket, tight leggings, flashy vest, black breeches, and dainty slippers, Godi became an absent-minded, garrulous and fidgety man who spent his leisure time devising ways to woo rich widows and acquire their fortunes.

Without regard for plot or characters, the *Stenterello* nonchalantly walked on stage and literally intruded on Shakespeare, Verne, and Dumas. To the relief of the audience, the *Stenterello* had entered during a tense and moving scene when the heroine wrung her hands in anguish in the face of a threatening villain. Godi would point to the actors, wrinkle his face in a silly grimace, and offer a witty line in the Tuscan dialect. His lines were deliberately out of context with the play, as he joked about current events and local personalities. He always played the clown, and he always brought the house down with hysterical laughter.

The popularity of the *Stenterello* lasted nearly one decade. A symbol of the cultural heritage left behind in Italy, this eighteenth-century personality served as a living bond between the immigrant colony and the mother country. However, as generations of Italian immigrants adjusted to the American ways of life, the regional characters with provincial thinking were no longer relevant to the new life in the United States. Several years later, a refreshing new stock character, the Americanized Italian, emerged to replace the *Stenterello*.

By 1909, the Italian theater moved its location once again. Signora Pisanelli, with the help of city boss Abe Ruef, accumulated the necessary finances to acquire the Russian Orthodox Church on Powell Street between Union and Filbert streets. The formal opening of the new Washington Square Theatre on April 10, 1909, was a grand event. For the first time, the Italian colony proudly boasted of a theater house with a seating capacity of almost one thousand. The theater was opened daily to the public from 2 P.M. until 5 P.M., and from 6:30 P.M. to 11 P.M. Sunday afternoon matinees began at 1 P.M. The price of admission ranged from a nickel to a dime.¹⁰

The famous *Compagnia Comica Drammatica Italiana* opened the Washington Square Theatre and played until August, 1910, when the legitimate drama company of Antonio Maori, also from New York, was booked. A great actor in his own right, Maori was determined to maintain the high traditions demanded of a "teatro di prosa" in the Italian variety theater. The performances of the Maori company were far from the ordinary. Rather, the company introduced the highest level of entertainment ever achieved in the North Beach *Teatro Italiano*.¹¹

Under the direction of Maori, the years from 1910 through 1912 marked the peak of Italian variety theater. Maori successfully produced the plays of Dumas, Goethe, Schontau, Sudermann, Sardou, and Shakespeare. The *comazionali* responded so enthusiastically to Maori's repertory that Shakespeare headed the billing once a week. Just as Shakespeare had known that an Italian plot, theme, and setting pleased most box offices, Maori presented those plays heavy with passion and drama. Prices for these performances were raised from the nickel-odeon class to a dignified fifteen and seventy-five cents.

Unfortunately, Antonio Maori returned to New York in 1912, and his talented company disbanded, leaving the Italian theater virtually silent for several seasons.



With the help of Abe Ruef, Pisanelli purchased the Russian Orthodox Church on Powell Street between Union and Filbert and erected in its place the Washington Square Theatre which opened on April 10, 1909.

The only bright spot for Italian audiences came during the summer of 1914 with the engagement of the admired Italian tragedienne, Mimi Aguglia, at the Cort Theatre (later the Curran Theatre) on Ellis Street. Miss Aguglia was so delighted with the warm reception given her by the American and Italian members of the audience that she extended her tour to include a seven-day performance at the Washington Square Theatre in August.¹² But upon her departure, the *Teatro Italiano* fell into deep depression. The years between 1914 and 1917 became known as the quiet years of Italian theater, and the Washington Square Theatre was sold to an American theater group.

Undaunted, Signora Pisanelli attempted to rekindle some spark among the Italian audiences with the re-introduction of the *Stenterello*, but this, too, proved disappointing. Italian audiences felt themselves too removed from the archaic *Stenterello* to be interested in his antics. In his place, the Signora then presented the *Farfariello*, a blend of fourteenth-century Italian harlequin and the modern pantomine style of Charlie Chaplin. The *Farfariello* played an important role in expressing the feelings of the Italian audiences who were attempting to fit into an American world. A product of the immigrant's life in an American city, the inspiration for this character came from the *connazionali* of Little Italies across the United States.

When Edoardo Migliaccio starred as the *Farfariello*, he came on stage in the same fashion as Godi. His make-up was exaggerated, and his costume was deliberately styled to invoke laughter. Borrowing from the *Stenterello* the use of grimaces, gestures, and pantomine, the *Farfariello* mimicked the *cafone*, a buffoon who adopted American clothes, mannerisms, and slang, and yet was no more American than the most recent arrival from Italy. Audiences thoroughly enjoyed Migliaccio's caricatures of the iceman, the fruit dealer, the merchant, and personalities, including Enrico Caruso. Poking fun at the audience, the *Farfariello* ridiculed the immigrant's tendency to Italianize English words and incorporate this "North Beach Italian" into the vocabulary of the proper Italian.

The *Farfariello* had a healthy effect upon the Italian colony. Conceived during a transitory period before World War I when the majority of Italians were immigrants confused by the difficult process of Americanization, the *Farfariello* helped to ease them into their new roles as American-Italians.¹³

From 1917 until the Great Depression, the Italian variety theater suffered the pains of neglect. The First World War, the passage of restrictive immigration laws, the movement of Italian families away from North Beach into other districts of San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area, and the sting of discrimination which the young American-Italians associated with the "immigrant things" of their parent's generation meant the decline of the Italian theater.

With the hope of rekindling enthusiasm for variety theater, devotees continued to stage occasional operatic performances. In January, 1917, Signora Pisanelli opened the Liberty Theatre on Broadway Street between Grant Avenue and Stockton Street in the hopes of generating new life into the dying theater, and she was fortunate to book two troupes of vivacious performers. The *Compagnia Italiana* of Teresa de Matienzo opened the Liberty and was followed by Alfred Aratoli's *Citta di Firenze* three months later. Small, local opera companies such as the San Carlos Opera Company continued to play the North Beach theaters,

but the high cost of production and the expensive salaries of the performers imposed limitations far too great for the Italian audiences to support on a nightly basis.

Nonetheless, a final effort was made during the war years. A group of Italian singers under the direction of Augustino Serantino from Ravenna staged twenty-five-cent performances three to five times a week. These "Two-Bit Operas," as they were commonly known, were staged at the Liberty Theatre with only a piano for accompaniment. By 1918, Serantino moved his troupe into the Washington Square Theatre which had been repurchased by the Italian theater groups. Serantino later recalled that the easiest of all tasks was the recruitment of bit parts. He merely stood on the corner of Columbus Avenue and Stockton Street and called out roles while the Italian vocalists knocked each other over to stand out and be heard.¹⁴

While Serantino concentrated on opera, Signora Pisanelli opened another variety theater on June 15, 1924, on Green Street at the corner of Columbus Avenue. Convinced that there might still be hope for the shows she had produced nineteen years earlier, she spared little to attract audiences to her Teatro Alessandro Eden. Its decor was typical of the 1920's with huge panels depicting reclining nudes and costumed couples dancing Latin tangoes, painted on a background sea of lipstick reds, smudged yellows, and yelling blues. The first floor of the building housed a moving picture theater, while on the second floor, the old vaudeville acts were repeated in what she called "the little theater." Between acts, the restaurant on the third floor, which functioned clandestinely as a speakeasy, provided the audiences with a new spot to sit and gossip.¹⁵

By 1925, however, the Italian variety theater had died. The Washington Square Theatre was sold to a Jewish company and renamed the Milano Theatre. However, it, too, withered until the once-famed Italian theater house became the ultra-modern Palace Theatre. Signora Pisanelli sold her Teatro Alessandro Eden in 1927, and it became the Goldtree and finally the Green Street Theatre. For those old-timers who nostalgically cherished an evening filled with provincial songs and drama, the Italian Hour on the radio assumed the role of the old theater, while the listener's imagination recreated scenes from past performances.

Clearly, the formative years of Italian theater had a decisive impact on the social development of the Italian North Beach colony. Sharing the same desires of all immigrant groups to transplant the alluring and treasured cultural amenities of the mother country, the Italian theater provided the perfect media through which the Italian immigrants exhibited their "Italianness."

In addition to filling this psychological need for reassurance in a new world, the performances of the early theater were inexpensive. While San Francisco theater houses charged prices too exorbitant for the pockets of the working people, the *Teatro Italiano* charged anywhere from a nickel to a half-dollar. Signora Pisanelli's theater, and the succession of North Beach theaters which followed, based their success and fame upon this simple fact of life.

One final contribution for which the *Teatro Italiano* must be remembered is the preservation of opera. While San Francisco audiences have always been appreciative of opera, those who were not true opera buffs or did not understand the Italian language were relieved when operatic performances began to be pre-



Arturo Godi (right) and Alfred Araroli (above) played the popular stenterello character—an eighteenth-century Florentine man-on-the-street—in countless San Francisco variety theater productions.



Mimi Aguglia, the famed Italian tragedienne posed (left) as Madame X, played a hold-over engagement in San Francisco in 1914, but with her departure Teatro Italiano returned to its moribund state.

sented in English.¹⁶ Only in North Beach could a devoted opera buff hear the captivating musical strains and libretto of his favorite Italian composer. Several years after Signora Pisanelli passed from the scene, it was the North Beach friends of a Neapolitan conductor turned music teacher who contributed the little money they could spare so that he could fulfill a dream and produce opera in San Francisco in a hall befitting the music he loved. For this alone the *Teatro Italiano* must be valued—for having nurtured that golden moment on the evening of October 15, 1932, when Gaetano Merola entered the orchestra pit, raised his baton, and filled San Francisco's glorious new War Memorial Opera House with the opening notes of *La Tosca*.

THE PHOTOS on pages 28, 29, and 35 were gathered from the Italian community for publication in Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The Italian Theater in San Francisco*, Theater Research Project, Monograph XXI (1939); photo of theater on page 32 from Bonanza Section of *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 26, 1960; photo of church on page 32 from San Francisco Public Library.

NOTES

1. Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The Italian Theater in San Francisco*, San Francisco Theater Research Series (WPA Project), Monograph XXI, vol. 10 (San Francisco: 1939), p. 6.
2. Lawrence Estavan, ed., *The History of Opera in San Francisco, Part I*, San Francisco Theater Research Series (WPA Project), Monograph XVII, vol. 7 (San Francisco: 1939), p. 5.
3. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 10.
4. J. M. Scanland, "An Italian Mosaic," *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:328 (April, 1906); Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 6-7, 10-12.
5. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:328.
6. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:330, 18-19.
7. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 21.
8. Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:327.
9. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 22-27; Scanland, *Overland Monthly*, XLVII:330.
10. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 27-28.
11. Estavan, *The History of the Opera*, 28; Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 33-39.
12. "Mimi Aguglia In Italian At Cort," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1914, p. 4; "Mimi Aguglia Opens Her Cort Engagement Tonight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 13, 1914, p. 8; G. G. Bertini, "Mimi Aguglia, Fuoco Del Dio," in *L'Italia Daily News*, reprint *San Francisco Call and Post*, July 14, 1914, p. 5.
13. Estavan, *Italian Theater*, 50-55.
14. Estavan, *The History of the Opera*, 68-69, 80.
15. "Church Remodeled as Theater," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1924, p. 4; "Good By Green Street Theatre, and Your Bath Tub Gin," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 21, 1955, p. 10.
16. "Italian Actress Scores Triumph," *San Francisco Call and Post*, July 14, 1914, p. 5.

Progressive Reform in Los Angeles under Mayor Alexander, 1909-1913

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PROGRESSIVISM, THE FIRST MAJOR REFORM MOVEMENT of twentieth-century America, has experienced a long and checkered historiographical career. Formally ushered in on the national level in 1901 by a youthful Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt, and virtually a dead issue by the advent of World War I during Democrat Woodrow Wilson's two-term presidency, progressivism raised high hopes for the future of just and efficient government. In recent times its disappointments have triggered severe criticism and damaging behaviorist interpretations as well as evoking more sustained positive evaluations of the movement's achievements.

Rejecting both the traditional view that reform-minded activists in the Progressive Era could be understood as idealistic crusaders seeking honest government and newer theories that they comprised a psychologically confused elite seeking to reclaim lost social status, historians are now offering more searching and critical analysis of reform activities on various governmental levels in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Especially important are the studies of J. Joseph Huthmacher, Samuel Hays, and Robert Wiebe which see municipal reform attempts in these years as a struggle among social classes for control of the metropolis. While Huthmacher claims that urban workers and middle-class elements collaborated for a time to achieve reform and later parted company over particular ethnocultural issues, Hays and Wiebe contend that progressive reform resulted from the efforts of middle and upper-class groups to apply to city government the techniques of systematization and administrative control being developed in business and the professions.¹ Building on these conceptual frameworks, students of municipal progressivism have recently studied reform movements in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Toledo, Cincinnati, Seattle, and San Francisco.² Curiously enough, the largest city of the western United States, Los Angeles, has received little attention, despite its leadership in various areas of reform and its solid record of accomplishment in the early twentieth century.³ Progressivism in Los Angeles and its attempts at municipal reform are the subjects of the study which follows.

In line with the general evolution of municipal politics since the Civil War, turn-of-the-century Los Angeles found itself under a system of decision-making rooted in machine politics. Historian Robert Fogelson describes the system most succinctly:



In 1909 political control in Los Angeles (photo at Broadway and Fourth) was grasped from the hands of machine politicians by reform progressives. Socially-concerned John R. Haynes (below) catalyzed the movement in 1859 when he founded the Direct Legislation League, and Charles D. Willard (left), editor of the Pacific Outlook, charted the movement's victories.



"The machine's essential task was to pick candidates and elect them to office; its success assured regional support for the Southern Pacific [Railroad], sympathetic consideration for business concerns, and extended tenure for officeholders. To this end, the transcontinental railroad provided leadership, the corporate utilities, public works contractors, and liquor dealers . . . supplied funds, and the municipal employees donated labor."⁴

Directed by Walter Parker, land-tax agent of the Southern Pacific and boss of the Republican party in Southern California, the machine maintained itself as a powerful deterrent to political reform by adapting its operations to the city's party system. While differences over principle and strategy generated considerable conflict between regulars and reform-minded independents within the major party organizations of several large cities across the country,⁵ in Los Angeles most Democrats and Republicans practiced the politics of consensus. Lacking significant ideological differences, the parties called for a variety of reforms and sought to maintain the traditional balance between the demands of the business community and the expectations of the electorate. Thus, the machine was able effectively to control the politics of the city.⁶

By the turn of the century, however, this system began to face attack from younger members of professional and business groups who were eager and determined to establish a new political order and power base. These reformers, unlike many of the earlier mugwumps who had come from older mercantile families, were not using the reform movement to defend high social status. Rather, their unexceptional social origins make it likely that they joined the reform movement in part, to attain more prestige, respectability, and upward social mobility. Reflecting on the origins of progressivism in Los Angeles, reformer William J. Carr noted that there were "pronounced rumblings of discontent and resentment among . . . younger people" and soon "they became quite a militant bunch in carrying on."⁷

Convinced that the government was in the hands of a "corrupt minority," Dr. John Randolph Haynes took the first significant progressive action in Los Angeles in 1895 when he founded the Direct Legislation League, an organization which included a number of prominent political reformers. In 1900, it persuaded the electorate to approve a program which became popular throughout the nation, an amendment providing the citizenry with the power to initiate legislation, veto laws, and recall elected officials.⁸ In conjunction with this campaign, a more important effort to sever the arteries of influence which extended from the machine into the appointive offices was launched. Considerably influenced by the fact that public employment in a number of cities, including Boston, New York, Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco, was under civil service regulations, the reformers then pushed hard to institute civil service reform in their city. In December, 1902, the electorate approved a charter amendment that established the Los Angeles Board of Civil Service Commissioners and required that applicants for city jobs be selected by competitive examinations and appointees removed only for incompetence.⁹ Three years later Charles D. Willard, secretary of the Municipal League of Los Angeles and editor of the progressive newspaper, *Pacific Outlook*, proudly informed the National Municipal League that implementation of the measure resulted in a "decided improvement in . . . devotion to

duty on the part of city employees" and also a "vast gain on the political side in removing the element of bribery that exists in the spoils system."¹⁰

Confident that these developments were eroding the "invisible" dimension of machine politics, the progressive reformers eagerly awaited and planned for an opportunity to gain complete control of the city government. In 1906 a number of prominent business and professional men organized a Non-Partisan City Central Committee for electing "progressives" to office. Headed by Meyer Lissner, a wealthy attorney, and Marshall Stimson, a young graduate of Harvard Law School, the committee nominated a slate of independents, including Lee C. Gates for mayor on a nonpartisan ticket. Although Gates was defeated by the Democratic candidate, Arthur C. Harper, the committee elected sixteen of their twenty-three candidates and at the same time aroused some interest among other middle-class groups in a permanent organization devoted mainly to political reform.¹¹ Not until two years later, however, did Lissner, Stimson, and Edward A. Dickson, associate editor of the *Los Angeles Express*, organize a Good Government group dedicated to wresting power from the machine. By this time Harper's administration was under heavy fire from an assistant prosecuting attorney, Thomas L. Woolwine, who had uncovered evidence of graft that appeared to involve the mayor and a number of prominent businessmen in the city. Enraged by Woolwine's refusal to cease his investigations, Harper removed the muck-raking attorney from office. Meanwhile, however, several newspapers began conducting inquiries of their own. In February, 1909, the *Los Angeles Times* printed the report of a grand jury investigation that revealed the payment of money from underworld establishments for "protection" to several joint-stock companies owned by Harper and some business associates. Capitalizing on a wave of public indignation to this exposure, the reformers secured the passage of more progressive charter amendments. The new amendments instituted direct primaries, nonpartisan elections, and election of councilmen at large and pressed further for the removal of machine politics from the city government.¹²

With the support of Edwin T. Earl, owner of the *Los Angeles Express* since 1901 and an invaluable sponsor of the progressive reform movement, the progressives circulated a petition for recall which forthrightly accused the mayor of failing to "enforce impartially the laws and ordinances of the city." Having gathered the required number of signatures, representatives from middle-class organizations, such as the Municipal League, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, and the City Club, searched desperately for an anti-machine politician to run as the Good Government candidate. Finally they persuaded George Alexander, a former county supervisor, to accept the nomination.¹³ Shortly before the election in the spring of 1909, Harper, ostensibly abandoned by the leaders of the machine, resigned from office, and Alexander carried enough middle-class wards to defeat the Socialist Party candidate, Fred Wheeler, by a narrow margin of 1,678 votes.¹⁴

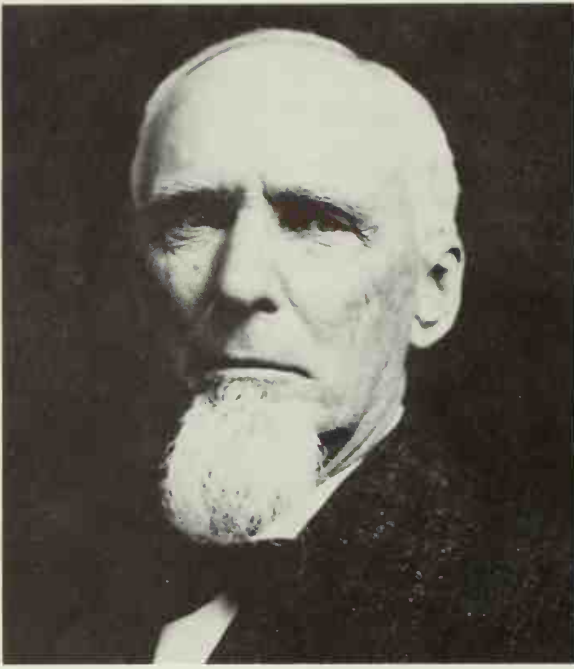
Compared to the bold and resourceful leadership of other progressive mayors like Brand Whitlock of Toledo and William J. Gaynor of New York,¹⁵ Alexander did not appear to be the kind of man who could provide the dynamism needed to capture public support for efficient government. Following a career as a farmer and merchant in Iowa, he came to Los Angeles in the late 1880's and later served

as deputy in the offices of the county recorder and city superintendent. Identified with the independent or "progressive" wing of the Republican party, his record as a county supervisor from 1900 to 1908 was one of opposition to the machine. While a few reformers who distrusted political organizations of any kind believed that his affiliation with the Republican party indicated that partisanship would continue to be the norm in city hall, Alexander was close enough to many progressives in political attitudes and goals to be satisfactory. Denying that he was controlled by a "clique or faction," he promised with typical progressive moderation that his administration would meet the popular demand for "honest business government" by resisting the influence of "certain corporations," maintaining "safe and sound" conditions for merchants and manufacturers, protecting the property of homeowners, and assuring workers of employment.¹⁶

Accustomed to rule under mayors who usually appointed or removed people on the basis of political persuasion rather than general competence, the reformers waited with intense curiosity for Alexander's selections for various positions in the government. Needing the consent of a "conservative" council for removals on the one hand and pressured by reform elites on the other, the mayor sought to adjust nonpartisanship to stern executive direction. To his chagrin, several members of the boards of public works, water, and civil service refused to resign and reiterated their aversion to any substantial revision of administrative policies and procedures.¹⁷ (In Los Angeles, as in other large cities experiencing a comparably growing complexity of formal authorities, such bureaucratic intransigence, coupled with functional divisions within the boards, had evolved into what one political scientist described as "islands of functional power" before which even the most "radical" mayor was relatively helpless. Few political reformers recognized this problem in the Progressive Era, and even if more did, they could hardly have been expected to find solutions when to the present day most public officials confront similar situations.¹⁸)

Equally frustrating to Mayor Alexander was the difficulty in finding the "best men" to fill positions on the fire, parks, police, and health boards which had been left vacant by the resignation of all sixteen members. Partly because the positions were nonsalaried and partly because the associated actions often provoked intense criticism from various civic groups, many reformers remained reluctant to labor under such conditions and preferred to stay on the sidelines where they could easily abandon the mayor for becoming too "political" in his policies. After considerable prodding from Alexander several progressives, who had been active in the recall, finally agreed to serve on the commissions which were expected to carry much of the burden of governmental efficiency. Among the appointees were five businessmen, two attorneys, two physicians, and a college professor.¹⁹

In evaluating the evolution of political reform in Los Angeles, Meyer Lissner informed a gathering of the City Club in April, 1909, that the "character of the appointments made by Mr. Alexander assures a . . . rational, conservative and decent administration."²⁰ Few party professionals found this situation satisfactory, however. To meet the increasing expenses of elections and the expansion of party machinery, they were highly dependent financially upon the extralegal assessments of elected and appointed officials, and they were not prepared to lose



In 1909, with characteristic moderation, former city superintendent Alexander made campaign promises for "honest business government," resistance to undue influence of "certain corporations" (specifically, the Southern Pacific), and property protection. After 1911 Alexander turned his attention to social services and liberal improvements for a greater segment of the Los Angeles citizenry.

much of this revenue because of the nonpartisan posture of several officials and the possible elimination of various administrative posts.²¹ To their discomfort, Alexander, believing that a "vast amount" of money was being "foolishly spent to provide positions for politicians" and intent on getting the "most efficient service," abolished some offices and threatened several party hacks with dismissal if they refused to resign. Meanwhile, the Los Angeles *Times*, which supported the conservative wing of the Republican party, charged that the underlying motive behind such actions was to build a coalition around the mayor for the coming December, 1909, election.²² Aside from its own political bias, the *Times* had aptly detected the emergence of an "executive-centered" system in the city. Well before the progressive period, divided responsibility had invited power to grow up outside the formal machinery of government, and, in the process, the lines of administrative authority became controlled to a considerable extent by the machine. But with the advent of progressive reform, the mayor and appointive administrators were able to exercise greater control over both the formation and execution of public policy.

Inspired by this gradual realignment of decision-making power in the government, the reformers welcomed the regular elections in December, 1909, as the long awaited opportunity to wrest power from the machine. Before the election, the Los Angeles *Herald* proclaimed that "never in the history of the city were the laws so thoroughly and completely enforced as they are today." In the same vein, the Good Government Organization heartily sponsored Alexander's re-election for providing "splendid administration" and having "well served the people." Overlooking the careful exclusion of labor from the reform campaign, the mayor reminded the electorate that he had assumed office in a "crisis in our city's affairs" and promised to maintain "sound and efficient government."²³ Drawing support from the city's growing middle and upper class, Alexander won election over the regular Republican candidate by 20,191 votes to 16,964, and all of the other offices went to the progressives. "If we don't make good now in the city . . . and hold our ground," Lissner wrote to Wisconsin progressive Robert La Follette, "it

will be our fault and the general sentiment seems to be that we have . . . the machine on the run. . . ."²⁴

From the standpoint of nonpartisanship, it was logical for the progressives to maintain the rhetoric of "classless" politics and continue appealing to a vague notion of public interest. Office-holding reformers, however, found the framework difficult and were forced to adapt to and function within an apparatus of decision-making quite different from the lines of authority associated with business and professional life. Furthermore, growing hostility between labor organizations and major business interests required specific policies that would effect the main sources of support for the administration. In keeping with the sentiments of the middle and upper classes who interpreted democracy in terms of property rights and assumed that social control should be in the hands of well-educated and respectable people, the "structural" progressives in Los Angeles were unreceptive to the desires of workers to improve the social and economic status of the underprivileged in the city and, as elected officials, pressed mainly for a government to be conducted by experts according to the corporate ideals of economy and efficiency. "We are going to have a real business administration—not narrow and illiberal in the sense that the machine tried to make people believe it would be," Lissner declared, "but just the sort of an administration Mayor Alexander has been giving so far as a machine council would permit him to. The new Council will do public business like great private business is done."²⁵ Similarly, S. C. Graham, former chairman of the recall campaign committee and member of the police commission, spoke of the "freedom in the administration of public affairs from the dictation of political bosses and the influence of partisan considerations. . . ."²⁶

Realizing that this corporate notion of government was inadequate for meeting the needs of the city, social welfare progressives insisted that the drive for efficient administration had to be integrated into a broad program of social and economic reform if the public were to be served effectively. Welfare did not simply involve the extension of adequate public services to all segments of Los Angeles society. Rather, it meant that the government should alleviate class stratification by guaranteeing equal economic opportunity in the community and establishing programs designed to improve living conditions in poorer sectors of the city. As leader of the Direct Legislation League and Christian Club, Dr. John R. Haynes sought to enlist support from his reform colleagues for the abolition of the contract system on public works, adequate housing for low-income groups, more parks and playgrounds, and extension of the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities. He argued that political reform would be incomplete and insecure without such measures. Addressing the Sunset Club, an organization composed primarily of professional men committed to social reform, another social welfare progressive, Rufus W. Burnham, former president of the club, declared that the chances for a "fairer distribution of wealth" depended upon the government either providing direct services or securing the "interests of citizens through proper regulation and control of private individuals. . . ."²⁷ In promoting these views through the editorial columns of the *Pacific Outlook*, editor Charles D. Willard called for social reforms such as tenement inspection, extermination of diseases, control of liquor traffic, child-labor

restrictions, and abolition of poverty. This comprehensive program, he urged, would offer an opportunity for progressivism to function on a level of government closest to the citizenry.²⁸

Both groups of progressives, however, overlooked the fact that the strength of their movement depended upon the ability of the administration to merge their contrasting emphases. Confronted with the diverse programs, Mayor Alexander focused upon those issues which appeared to cut across class lines and to give the impression that his administration acted in the interests of all the people. In keeping with the rhetoric of nonpartisanship, he dismissed several people from various commissions for alleged incompetence and political interests. Choosing to ignore the fact that a number of the new appointees had little technical expertise and were selected mainly because of their social prominence, Willard's *Pacific Outlook* remarked in June, 1910, that the city was getting the "service of the best and ablest men of the community." Indeed, by 1911 the government had erected several fire and police stations, expanded and re-equipped the fire department, launched a reconstruction of city parks, modernized the police and street departments, quelled the exploitation of municipal employees by underworld loan sharks, and secured the approval of a \$6.5 million bond issue for harbor and power development.²⁹

Admirably complementing these developments was the new city regulation of public utilities. Responding to the cry of the mayor that the public "must not weaken before the flattery and plausible arguments of the great corporations," the Municipal League drafted an initiative petition proposing the formation of a Board of Public Utilities. Passed by the electorate in December, 1909, the ordinance created an appointive commission empowered to examine earnings and propose rates, investigate complaints, and provide recommendations on all applications for franchises. In 1910 a number of ordinances based upon recommendations from the public utilities commission were passed by the council to regulate rates for water, gas, electricity, and telephone service.³⁰ In 1911 utility experts employed by the commission recommended an upward adjustment of electric and telephone rates, and the commission referred the proposals to the council. After careful assessment of the position of labor groups and various improvement associations who opposed this policy, the council rejected the recommendations for higher rates. In addition to supporting the council's action, Alexander and several administrative officials devised plans for a municipal power project involving the distribution of power along the projected Owens Valley aqueduct, whose waters would fall several thousand feet and generate almost a million kilowatts. They also sponsored the transformation of the water commission into the Board of Public Service in March, 1911, in order to allow the city to operate a municipal water and electricity service.³¹

Reaction to the flurry of changes came swiftly. Feeling these developments to be inconsistent with the progressives' promise to be "fair both to the public and to the companies" and having had, in the words of commission-member Lissner, "our usefulness . . . destroyed by our own supposed friends," members of the commission resigned in July, 1911, after more disagreement with the mayor and council over rates.³²

Imprisoned by their vision of a nonpartisan order, many structuralist progres-

sives outside public office failed to see these resignations as evidence of serious weakness within the reform government. For them, the administration appeared to be a neatly stratified system led by the mayor at the helm who worked through subordinates in a defined chain of command. The conflict over utility regulation, however, suggested the existence of crucial unresolved differences over public policy. Though the progressive administration was indeed a coordination of policies by the mayor who drew upon the skills and resources of new bureaucratic elites, Alexander, rather than being at the top of a pyramid, was at the center of intersecting lines of authority. In effect he was held responsible for the conduct and performance of all his appointive officials, and, at the same time, he was charged with making public policy responsive to his personal goals.³³ In addition to these often conflicting pressures, he faced increasingly considerable pressure from lower-class groups who had little representation in the government.

Los Angeles labor leaders then added fuel to the fire smoldering in Alexander's administration. Convinced that their program of social and economic reform—which included the eight-hour day for all workers, free lodgings and public work for the unemployed, a municipal labor bureau, and collective ownership of public utilities—could never be implemented under a mayor committed to middle-class social values, labor leaders abandoned their traditional tactic of economic coercion and turned to political action in the election year of 1911. By this date a number of workers had been arrested under an anti-picketing ordinance which, in turn, had brought organized labor and the Socialists into a powerful political alliance. Representatives of the Union Labor Political Club and the Socialist Party selected Job Harriman, an attorney for labor groups, as their candidate for the mayoralty. In the meantime the Republicans chose W. C. Mushet, a former city auditor, and the Good Government Organization renominated Alexander. To the surprise of both groups, the Socialist ticket received more votes than the “goo-goos” in the primary and less than 3,000 votes would have given Harriman a majority and the election.³⁴ “As it stands their [Socialist] vote was appalling,” Willard observed after the primary, “and only the hardest kind of fighting and good luck . . . will enable us to beat them off.”³⁵

Fearful that Los Angeles might come under a government modeled upon the labor administration of San Francisco, the reformers now welcomed support from those who had quarreled with them over questions involving both strategy and principle.³⁶ Reflecting the antiunion sentiments and morbid fear of socialism of its owner, Harrison Gray Otis, the *Los Angeles Times* conveniently forgot its rancor toward the progressives and pledged support for Alexander. Considerably impressed by this turnabout and urged by other newspapers to organize a “non-partisan” group, several reformers and party regulars established a Citizens Committee of One Hundred which joined forces with the Good Government group to help re-elect the mayor. In the face of this opposition the Socialist party and trade unions campaigned vigorously for Harriman, and he soon attracted support from a surprising number of lower middle-class elements. Shortly before the general election, however, two labor organizers confessed to the crime of dynamiting the *Times* building on October 1, 1910, in which twenty-one employees died, and Harriman, who had been one of their defense attorneys, lost considerable support. The Committee of One Hundred pointed out that the



When two labor organizers confessed to the bombing of the Times building in late 1910, the increasingly popular Socialist party candidates were attacked as having “little or no property responsibility.” More fearful of unions and socialism than progressivism, Times-owner Harrison Gray Otis pledged support to Alexander who triumphed in the 1911 election.

Socialist ticket was “composed of candidates having little or no property responsibilities” and argued that the re-election of the mayor would insure “industrial peace, prosperity of the city, and individual freedom.” On December 5, 1911, Alexander won with 85,739 votes to Harriman’s 51,796, and his fellow reformers defeated their Socialist rivals by a comfortable margin.³⁷

To prominent reformers who felt that political progressivism was capable of blunting the cutting edge of lower-class radicalism, the defeat of the Socialists in Los Angeles was a vindication of the new politics. Writing to Willard shortly after the election, Theodore Roosevelt expressed the hope that “our progressive leaders would remember . . . that true progressives must stand against brutal wrongdoing on the part of labor. . . .” James T. Young, director of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania and a respected observer of urban politics, congratulated the Los Angeles reformers on the “new departure” and added that they made him “more optimistic” about municipal government.³⁸

But the campaign had somewhat undermined the legitimacy of progressivism in the city. In a letter to Edward A. Dickson, Lewis R. Works, a reform lawyer and chairman of the public utilities board, spoke to the problem: “. . . The old guard will attempt to make capital out of their recent patriotic organization for the salvation of the city. . . . We shall . . . do the best we can to handle them if any such movement should take place. . . .”³⁹ By accepting assistance from party regulars during the campaign, the progressives had allowed the lines of battle to be drawn mainly between the Republicans and the Socialists, and, in the process,

reformism was sacrificed for expediency within the movement itself. Moreover, the Socialist party now functioned as the main channel of social and economic reform for most workers in the city. Acknowledging this state of affairs, Chester Rowell, editor of the influential *Fresno Republican* and leader of state-wide progressivism in California, warned that the socialists might eventually win in Los Angeles if successive administrations continued to be indifferent to the programs of unions and refused to "deal with the laboring people as an important civic element."⁴⁰

Recognizing this policy as a serious weakness in political progressivism, Mayor Alexander moved sharply after 1911 in the direction of a services-oriented program that acknowledged the demands of some groups for more social services and at the same time answered the plea of middle-class commercial and civic associations for more public improvements. In this context, his administration does not exactly fit either the popular "social reform" or the elitist "structural reform" types of administrations as presented by one recent student of urban progressivism.⁴¹ True, Alexander was preoccupied with considerations of efficiency and thus imposed, perhaps unconsciously, middle-class social values upon the entire community. On the other hand, his brand of social reform fell in line with the positions of other efficiency-minded mayors, including Henry T. Hunt of Cincinnati, Newton D. Baker of Cleveland and Rudolf Blankenburg of Philadelphia, who saw little inconsistency between efficient administration and liberal improvements and who evaluated available services as inadequate for growing cities.⁴² In addition to calling for programs which benefited all classes, Alexander also began stressing the need for services of special benefit to lower-class citizens, such as tenement inspection, public markets, free municipal baths, and public ownership of all public utilities.⁴³

Alexander's strong desire to alter the existing social and economic order required a deep commitment to public welfare from various city officials usually preoccupied only with those services deemed important to the middle and upper-class sectors of the city. Unfortunately, the council remained under the thumb of political reformers unsympathetic to the plight of individuals on the lower rungs of the social ladder, and they quickly repudiated portions of the Good Government platform from which the mayor had drafted his program of social services. In addition, Alexander himself began to back down on a campaign pledge involving street railway franchises when he pressured the council into confirming the reappointment of a moderate conservative, General Adna R. Chaffee, to the Board of Public Works. Overlooking the appointments of several reform-minded administrators to various commissions, George B. Anderson, secretary of the Good Government Organization, informed one prominent progressive that it was "taking the heart out of all of us to see the way 'big business' has been getting in its work with the mayor and some of the council."⁴⁴ On the other hand, Alexander, while identifying aggregations of economic power with the prosperity of the city, still felt that government should function as an impartial arbiter on particular matters involving public and private interests.

This open-minded policy invited considerable opposition to municipalization from the local utility companies. In their determination to maintain control of the city's power business, representatives of Los Angeles Gas and Electric, Pacific

THE THREE MUSKETEERS

On November 7, 1911, the labor-oriented *Record* characterized the uneasy pre-election fraternity of Big Business, the Good Government Organization, a surprised but leashed Mayor Alexander, and their newest cohort, the ousted Old Guard backed by Southern Pacific money.



Light and Power, and Southern California Edison enlisted the support of business-minded members of the council and several commercial associations in an effort to pressure the administration into allowing their firms to purchase and market the aqueduct power. To their dismay, the Board of Public Service resisted this campaign and persuaded the council to authorize a \$6.5 million bond issue for erecting distributing facilities. With these securities requiring electoral approval, the power companies vigorously campaigned against the board's bond issues to further obstruct the move to municipal ownership.⁴⁵

Concurrently, the struggle over municipalization intensified partisanship within the administrative branch of the government. In January of 1912 the *Los Angeles Record*, which reflected the views of organized labor in the city, pointed out that the appointive officials who "get their 'hunches' from big business" were "fearful that an honest and thorough investigation would . . . bring great discredit . . . on . . . those officials in charge of the aqueduct work." Favoring privately-owned, publicly-regulated monopolies under efficient management, a few commissioners in the utilities, public works and harbor departments resigned over the issue of municipal ownership, while others stayed on but resisted Alexander's effort to establish city-owned harbor facilities, power plants, and an electrical distributing system.⁴⁶ Witnessing this development the public service board assumed a different perspective in its annual report for 1911: "Any scheme for selling . . . power to the companies . . . would afford the greatest possible inducements on the part of the companies to interfere with the city's politics . . . and . . . place the power companies in a position to dictate terms to the city."⁴⁷ Few social welfare progressives could have said it better; indeed, one of their main aims was to sever the connection between powerful special interests and the

city government. But this goal did not imply a radical redistribution of economic power in the city. "The Progressive asks that government sees to it that every man gets a fair start into life and that he has justice," Editor Willard wrote in July of 1912, "as between man and man, and also as between man and property. There is nothing extreme or revolutionary about this demand, and nothing that makes for fundamental changes in our economic system."⁴⁸

Largely committed to change within established institutions, most progressives in Los Angeles sought to sensitize the government to the needs of the consumer and to force its officials to rationalize operations. In pursuing this objective a number of prominent reformers called for a new charter that would eliminate the separation of powers among the mayor, departmental heads, and the council.⁴⁹ For them, growing factionalism in the government necessitated a reorganization of the lines of control that would centralize authority in an administrative apparatus run by officials committed to the tenets of cost accounting and "scientific" administration.⁵⁰ The council, in response, appointed a committee headed by Lissner and Haynes to draft a new charter along these lines. Drawing upon the suggestions of a team of experts from the National Municipal League and of officials in cities operating under commission form of government—a form which lodged both executive and legislative functions in a group of elected officials—the committee presented a new charter to the 1912 Board of Freeholders which in turn accepted most of its recommendations. In addition to consolidating recent reforms such as civil service, nonpartisan elections, and municipal ownership, the board created a commission of eight members with each member in charge of a single department and made each responsible for the formulation and administration of public policy.⁵¹

Feeling that the document would probably strengthen progressivism in the city, party regulars greeted the proposed charter with considerable resentment and charged that it was a tactical compromise among progressives designed to "wrench the municipal reins from the people." Meanwhile, some reformers contended that Los Angeles was not suited to the commission system which was confined mostly to small cities and that it would deprive the electorate of "invaluable safeguards." Others charged that the reformed bureaucracy would be undermined by the abolition of the boards and their replacement by commissioners. In rejecting these allegations Haynes argued that the document would take all appointments "out of politics" and in the process "insure the prompt execution of all the big plans" of the city. "The charter . . . marks a great and distinct advance . . . of the kind never before drafted," other members of the board proclaimed, "and if adopted, it will give Los Angeles a position of enviable distinction among the best governed cities in the world." But the electorate remained unconvinced, and to the dismay of the Board of Freeholders, they decisively rejected the document at the charter election in December, 1912.⁵³

From the perspective of those reformers who valued organizational discipline and loyalty, the defeat of the proposed charter appeared to be the deathknell of progressivism in Los Angeles. In a letter to Willard in January, 1913, Rufus W. Burnham wrote that to "find some who fought with us early in the game have weakened and are valuing the dollar more than the man . . . causes me to get out of the front rank."⁵⁴



In 1908 Meyer Lissner (above center), Edward Dickson (above right), and Marshall Stimson (left) organized the Good Government group to wrest political power from the machine. Chester Rowell (above left), leader of state-wide progressivism, gave his support. By mid-1913, differences in philosophy had ended this promising political chapter.

OPPOSITE: Alexander urged municipal ownership of public utilities such as the Owens River aqueduct (photo of Newhall Spillway opening, 1913) against pressure from private companies and business-minded council members.

Disappointments notwithstanding, considerable progress had been made under the reform mayor since 1911. By 1913 the administration had completed the Owens River aqueduct, constructed forty-two miles of sewers, expanded the fire and police departments, paved twenty-seven miles of streets, pushed through a municipal power system, and partially renovated the harbor. It had also opened the door to tenement regulation, suppressed organized vice, and succeeded in keeping the city on a sound financial basis.⁵⁵

To the chagrin of Mayor Alexander, however, these accomplishments failed to attract more support for his government. Intensifying factionalism within the community and increasing conflict within the ranks of progressivism had together resulted in hostility among the voters toward the administration. Shortly after the defeat of the 1912 charter a number of conservative reformers met in a Citizen's Committee of 1000 to draft a set of amendments to the existing charter, while other reformers of varying persuasions, including many Socialists, formed a People's Charter Conference to propose different amendments. Each group drafted a set of proposals, and the council then submitted them all to the electorate. Particularly important was one of the conference's proposals which called for new elections in May and June, 1913, thus, in effect, recalling the administration. The electorate approved this proposal along with most of the others submitted by the conference.⁵⁶



With the pending retirement of Alexander because of advanced age, the progressives were poorly prepared for the coming campaign. For some time differences over principles and tactics had created tensions among the leaders of the movement.⁵⁷ In February, 1913, reformer John J. Hamilton urged that "it is imperative that good relations be established between the radical and progressive elements in Los Angeles. . . . There are, of course, honest conservatives; but they are inevitably tied up with the 'interests' . . . [and] are always undesirable allies for the progressives."⁵⁸ Meyer Lissner and other reform leaders, however, pursued a different strategy. Frightened by the renewed threat of socialism and feeling that the embittered newspaper rivalries "made it practically impossible to get men of the highest standing . . . to become candidates for office," Lissner, Marshall Stimson, and Russ Avery, president of the Los Angeles Voters' League, accepted an invitation by conservative reformers in March, 1913, to join forces with the regular Republicans and businessmen in a Municipal Conference. Despite the participants' nonpartisan posture and protestations that the gathering represented all reform-minded groups, social welfare reformers and labor were without representation in the conference. To offset this obvious slight, the participating progressives recommended the nomination of William Mulholland, who had conceived and built the Owens River aqueduct, for mayor. The conference rejected the engineer, however, and nominated John W. Shenk, a conservative

attorney, on a nonpartisan ticket along with a slate of business-minded councilmen.⁵⁹

In the heat of resentment over not being consulted before the formation of the Municipal Conference, Edwin T. Earl, owner of the *Los Angeles Express*, quickly broke relations with the progressives most responsible for cementing the coalition. "As far as I am able to judge," Marshall Stimson admitted, "... our action will be judged by the majority of the Progressives according to the result of the conference, and the general theory is that we were not accorded fair treatment."⁶⁰ Charging Stimson, Lissner, and Avery with an attempt to deliver the government into the hands of the "money power and corporate interests," Earl organized the excluded social progressives into a People's Campaign Committee which grudgingly endorsed Shenk but chose a separate slate of candidates for the council. In supporting the committee's ticket, the *Los Angeles Express* contended that there was no commitment in the platform of the Municipal Conference to rapid extension of public utilities and pointed out that some of the councilmen on the nonpartisan ticket were from the wealthier part of the city which had defeated in April, 1913, the \$6.5 million bond issue for the development of public power. Meanwhile, Lissner instructed members of the conference to campaign vigorously for the nonpartisanship ticket because "these candidates stand for immediate development of ... public utilities ... on a sound business basis" and would "represent all sections of the city faithfully and well."⁶¹

To the relief of the Municipal Conference, Shenk received a plurality of votes in the primary, while an independent, Harry Rose, defeated the Socialist candidate, Job Harriman, for second spot. With the removal of the Socialist threat, however, a large number of party regulars and businessmen quickly deserted the conference. In the runoff Rose, who maligned Shenk as a stooge of the progressives, secured the regulars and businessmen's votes and carried enough of Harriman's supporters to win by a startling upset of 46,045 votes to Shenk's 38,109. Of the eleven councilmen-elect, four were affiliated with the conference, one was a Socialist, and another was an independent. For Los Angeles it appeared to be the end of its progressive political chapter.⁶²

In attempting to explain their sudden loss of formal power some progressives pointed out that Rose had received considerable support from the utility corporations, while others, such as Lissner, contended that Shenk had lost because of "prejudice against Earl, particularly, and against the long-hairs, generally. ..."⁶³ But the problem went much deeper than these explanations. Divergent views of public welfare and lack of organizational discipline had together resulted in the inability of the progressives to maintain an organization that could compete on equal terms with other political groups in the city. Moreover, their preoccupation with structural change failed to win them a popular following. "The trouble with all movements," Edward A. Dickson wrote, "... is that leaders are developed who plunge to excess in governmental affairs. Efficient, economic ... government does not satisfy a large proportion of our people, and the demand goes up for ultra-radical legislation."⁶⁴ Reluctant to deal effectively with basic social and economic conditions that pressed upon the city's growing lower-class population, the structural reformers had directed the force of progressivism to abolishing governmental inefficiency, which they saw as the underlying cause of most urban problems.

Nevertheless, in bringing more positive and service-oriented government to Los Angeles, Mayor Alexander and his dedicated officials left succeeding administrations better prepared to cope with the social injustices and economic oppression which accompanied the emergence of the metropolis. To be sure, progressive reform would remain essentially an effort to inject more efficiency and economy into the administrative tissues of the government. In a survey of the Los Angeles city government in 1913 the New York Bureau of Municipal Research pointed out that weaknesses in administrative control resulted mainly from a decentralized accounting system, the lack of efficiency records within several departments, and the "lack of coordination between the salaries paid and the services rendered."⁶⁵ On the other hand, the growth of executive power and increased administrative responsibility invited more pressure on officials because they permitted various interest groups to discern with more accuracy what was going on in the government. Furthermore, progressivism, while it did not eliminate partisanship, destroyed the traditional functions of the machine in electoral politics and compelled candidates for public office to appeal to the entire community. In this context reform politicians and efficiency-minded officials, sharing common background and common expectations, could move closer together in an effort to extend governmental responsibilities into a wider range of direct services to the people. The period from 1909 to 1913, therefore, was less the fruition of progressivism than a crucial transition period in the city's politics and reform polity. Awareness of this political watershed in the development of Los Angeles should induce historians of American urban politics, long limited by their preoccupation with the alleged demise of progressive political reform, to devote more attention to a similar trend in the evolution of public services in other large cities during the early twentieth century.

THE PHOTOS on pages 38 (top and left) and 42 are courtesy Security Pacific National Bank, Los Angeles; photos on pages 38 (below) and 50, courtesy University Research Library, UCLA; and photos on pages 46 and 51, courtesy Title Insurance and Trust Co., Los Angeles.

NOTES

1. J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 44:321-44 (September 1962); Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 55:157-69 (October 1964); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, pp. 111-32, 166-76, 208-14 (New York 1967).

2. Richard Skolnick, "Civic Group Progressivism in New York City," *New York History*, 51:411-39 (July 1970); Philip S. Benjamin, "Gentlemen Reformers in the Quaker City, 1870-1912," *Political Science Quarterly*, 85:67-79 (March 1970); Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York, 1969); James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895-1911* (Baton Rouge, 1968); Jack Tager, *The Intellectual as Urban Reformer: Brand Whitlock and the Progressive Movement* (Cleveland, 1968); Zane L. Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York, 1968); Warren B. Johnson, "Muckraking in the Northwest: Joe Smith and Seattle Reform," *Pacific Historical Review*, 40:478-500 (November 1971); James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly*, 51:3-16 (Spring 1972).

3. Some aspects of reform in Los Angeles in this period are discussed in George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, pp. 38-47, 50-55 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), and in Robert M.

Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*, pp. 210-18, 229-37 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), while Albert H. Clodius, "The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1953), provides insights into the general nature of Los Angeles progressivism and valuable information on political and social reform in these years.

4. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 207.

5. Martin J. Schiesl, "The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1972), pp. 70-100.

6. Marshall Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas in Old Los Angeles: An Autobiography," Marshall Stimson Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, pp. 149-50, 160-61, 184; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 208.

7. "The Memoirs of William Jarvis Carr" (oral history interview conducted by Doyce B. Nunis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 41, 45.

8. John R. Haynes to Thomas H. Reed, June 20, 1911, John Randolph Haynes Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles; *Charter of the City of Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 134-52.

9. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission July 1, 1897-June 30, 1898*, pp. 492-500; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 184-95.

10. Charles D. Willard, "Municipal Progress in Los Angeles," *Proceedings of the New York Conference for Good City Government and 11th Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League*, April 1905, p. 102.

11. A. S. Petterson, "Los Angeles Municipal Election of 1906. Non-Partisan Movement to Smash S P [Southern Pacific] Control of Key City Achieves Remarkable Victory," ca. 1906, box 17, Edward A. Dickson Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 1-3; Meyer Lissner to Kendrick C. Babcock, February 19, 1908, box 1, Meyer Lissner Papers, Borel Collection, Manuscripts Department, Stanford University Libraries.

12. *Los Angeles Herald*, January 25, 1909; *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 1909; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 157-67.

13. Lissner to Francis J. Heney, February 2, 1909, box 2 Lissner Papers; "Petition for the Recall of Mayor Harper," (1909), Haynes Papers; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 186-187, 190-92, 194.

14. *Los Angeles Express*, March 12, 25, 27, 1909; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 209-10.

15. Tager, *Brand Whitlock*, 106-26; William Bayard Hale, "Gaynor: Mayor of New York," *World's Work*, 20:13139-13152 (July, 1910).

16. George Alexander, "What I Am Going to Do," *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (April 3, 1909).

17. *Los Angeles Examiner*, March 30, April 1, 23, 1909; *Los Angeles Express*, April 4, 23, 1909.

18. Theodore J. Lowi, *At the Pleasure of the Mayor: Patronage and Power in New York City, 1898-1958*, pp. 61-66 (New York, 1964).

19. *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 6, 1909; *Los Angeles Examiner*, April 6, 1909.

20. Meyer Lissner, "Reform in Los Angeles. Retrospective-Prospective," an address delivered before the City Club of Los Angeles, April 10, 1909, reprinted in *Los Angeles Herald*, April 11, 1909.

21. On this interrelationship of patronage and the fiscal structure of party organization, see C. K. Yearley, *The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920*, pp. 97-118, 253-69 (New York, 1970).

22. Alexander, "Going to Do," 3; *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, May 19, 1909; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 243-69.

23. *Los Angeles Herald*, November 7, 1909; "Declaration of Principles: Platform Adopted by the Good Government Organization," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:9 (November 27, 1909); *Los Angeles Examiner*, December 7, 1909.

24. *Los Angeles Examiner*, December 9, 1909; Lissner to Robert LaFollette, December 15, 1909, box 2, Lissner Papers.

25. "Expressions of Prominent Citizens on the Election Results," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:4 (December 11, 1909). In pressing for efficient city government Lissner, unlike most of his politically oriented colleagues, gave some evidence of having a broader concept of reform that acknowledged

the claims of lower-class groups upon the community. See Meyer Lissner, "Honesty Plus Efficiency," an address delivered before the National Municipal League, July 9, 1912, reprinted in *California Outlook*, 12:10 (July 20, 1912).

26. "Expressions of Prominent Citizens," 5.

27. Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 495-96, 511; R. W. Burnham, "The Business Fetish—A Sunset Club Paper," *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (June 19, 1909).

28. [Charles D. Willard], "How the City Poisons Itself," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1 (July 10, 1909); "The Man in the Gutter," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1 (July 17, 1909); and "The New Basis of Hope," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:1-2 (July 24, 1909).

29. "Six Months of Good Government Administration," *Pacific Outlook*, 8:2-3 (June 25, 1910); "Mayor Alexander's Annual Message on the Condition of Municipal Affairs," *Los Angeles Herald*, February 1, 1911.

30. Quoted in *Pacific Outlook*, 6:7 (June 26, 1909); *First Annual Report of the Board of Public Utilities of the City of Los Angeles*, June 30, 1910, pp. 1, 6-8, 44-49, 58-67.

31. *Los Angeles Examiner*, June 8, 9, 10, 1910; *Second Annual Report of the Board of Public Utilities of the City of Los Angeles*, July 1, 1911, pp. 17-22, 87-88, 115-118; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 233.

32. M. Lissner, N. D. Darlington and J. M. Hunter to George Alexander, June 30, 1911, and Lissner to Dickson, July 17, 1911, both in box 3, Lissner Papers. Shortly after a new appointee to the board expressed similar sentiments: "The Board is nothing but a Court which is charged with the laborious duty of standing between the people and the big corporations and endeavoring to do, if possible, exact justice to each and therein lies the problem." Lewis R. Works to T. Perceval Gerson, July 10, 1911, box 1. Theodore Perceval Gerson Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

33. At this time three officials in the police department had been arrested on charges of having extorted protection fees from gambling establishments and houses of prostitution, while other departments were being investigated by the district attorney for alleged corruption. *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 15, 1911; *Los Angeles Examiner*, June 15, 17, 21, 1911.

34. Grace H. Stimson, *Rise of Labor Movement in Los Angeles*, 324-25, 343-47, 351-53, 361-64 (Berkeley, 1955); *Los Angeles Examiner*, October 10, 30, November 1, 1911.

35. C. D. Willard to Sarah W. Hiestand, November 2, 1911, box 6, Charles Dwight Willard Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also B. W. Bartels to Lissner, November 11, 1911, box 13, Lissner Papers.

36. For political developments in San Francisco during this period, see Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, 34:430-35 (November, 1965); Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss," 12-13.

37. Stimson, *Labor Movement in Los Angeles*, 348-49, 400-406; *Los Angeles Examiner*, November 7, 16, 19, December 5, 6, 1911. Recalling the support for the Good Government candidates in this campaign, Marshall Stimson noted that "it was very interesting . . . to witness the zeal which the pocketbook class put into the campaign. They were thoroughly frightened and poured out money and volunteered for precinct work in large numbers." Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas," 215.

38. Theodore Roosevelt to Charles D. Willard, December 11, 1911, box 7, Willard Papers; James T. Young to T. Perceval Gerson, January 29, 1912, box 1, Gerson Papers.

39. Lewis R. Works to E. A. Dickson, January 4, 1912, box 2, Dickson Papers.

40. Chester Rowell, "The Los Angeles Situation," reprinted from *Fresno Republican in California Outlook*, 9:8 (November 25, 1911).

41. Holli, *Reform in Detroit*, 161-71.

42. Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati*, 213-25; E. C. Hopwood, "Newton D. Baker's Administration as Mayor of Cleveland and its Accomplishments," *National Municipal Review* 2:461-66 (1913); Charles Francis Jenkins, "The Blankenburg Administration in Philadelphia: A Symposium," *National Municipal Review* 5:211-25 (April 1916).

43. *Los Angeles Express*, January 1, 1912; Clodius, "Quest for Good Government," 483.

44. *Los Angeles Record*, January 2, 1912; George B. Anderson to Franklin Hichborn, January 2, 1913, Franklin Hichborn Papers, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

45. Los Angeles *Examiner*, January 5, April 11, June 24, 1912; Los Angeles *Record*, July 12, December 28, 1912.
46. Los Angeles *Record*, January 23, 1912; Los Angeles *Examiner*, June 9, 24, July 12, 1912.
47. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Public Service Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles, California*, June 30, 1912, p. 6.
48. Charles D. Willard, "The Political Millennium: Number Twenty of the Series Addressed to New Voters in California," *California Outlook*, 13:7 (July 27, 1912).
49. In March, 1911, the electorate had approved a number of charter amendments which, among other things, defined the powers of various boards and commissions, established centralized purchasing, gave the mayor more control over fire and police activities, and lodged budgetary responsibility in the council with an executive veto. *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 1-41, 44, 48, 50, 52, 54, 57, 62-73, 75-88, 91-133, 167-81, 183, 190, 192-93, 204-209.
50. John J. Hamilton, "Dividing and Delegating Authority," *California Outlook*, 12:10-11 (May 18, 1912); Charles D. Willard, "Los Angeles Acts Up," *California Outlook*, 13:3-4 (July 6, 1912).
51. Meyer Lissner et al., "Joint Report of the Committees on Ways and Means and Rules, and Program of the Los Angeles Charter Commission," March 20, 1912, Haynes Papers; *Second Draft of the Charter of the City of Los Angeles* (1912), pp. 5-6, *passim*.
52. C. S. Lamb, C. T. Herbert, Everett R. Perry to Board of Freeholders, June 3, 1912, and J. B. Irvine to Haynes, June 4, 1912, both in Haynes Papers; Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 2, 1912.
53. John R. Haynes, "The New City Charter as a Business Proposition" (ca. 1912), pp. 2-3, Haynes Papers; Board of Freeholders, "Statement to the People of Los Angeles" (1912), p. 2, Haynes Papers; Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 4, 1912.
54. Rufus W. Burnham to Charles D. Willard, January 5, 1913, box 8, Willard Papers.
55. Los Angeles *Examiner*, January 8, 1913; Meyer Lissner, "What's the Matter with Los Angeles?," *California Outlook*, 14:16 (January 11, 1913); John Ihlder, "Housing at the Los Angeles Conference," *National Municipal Review*, 2:69-71 (January 1913).
56. Los Angeles *Examiner*, December 19, 1912, March 10, 26, 1913; *Charter of . . . Los Angeles 1889-1913*, pp. 13, 16-28, 31-33, 59-61, 104, 119, 133-34, 157, 171-72, 203.
57. See Lissner to E. T. Earl and H. W. Brundige, July 26, 1912, box 5, Lissner Papers; John J. Hamilton to Lissner September 27, 1912, box 17, Lissner Papers; T. P. Kelso to Lissner, December 5, 1912, box 19, Lissner Papers.
58. John J. Hamilton to Lissner, February 3, 1913, box 17, Lissner Papers.
59. Lissner et al. to Earl, March 29, 1913, box 5, *ibid.*; Marshall Stimson et al., "Why We Went into the 'Municipal Conference of 1913'," *California Outlook*, 14:5 (April 5, 1913).
60. Marshall Stimson to E. A. Dickson, March 31, 1913, box 2, Dickson Papers.
61. Los Angeles *Express*, March 29, April 23, 26, 1913; Lissner to Members of the Municipal Conference, May 1, 1913, box 21, Lissner Papers. Years later Marshall Stimson was somewhat sympathetic to Earl's strategy: "He [E. T. Earl] felt that a compromise was being made with forces that were inimical to the city's best interests. I think he was mistaken, but the matter is open to argument." Stimson, "Fun, Fights and Fiestas," 216.
62. "The Primary Election in Los Angeles," *California Outlook*, 14:10 (May 10, 1913); Los Angeles *Examiner*, May 28, June 2, 4, 1913; Los Angeles *Record*, June 4, 1913.
63. Los Angeles *Tribune*, June 4, 1913; Los Angeles *Times*, June 5, 1913; Lissner to William Allen White, June 9, 1913, box 6, Lissner Papers.
64. E. A. Dickson to Guy C. Earl, December 24, 1913, box 9, Dickson Papers. Curiously, some progressives in Los Angeles, particularly Meyer Lissner, were involved with the extensive program of social welfare legislation enacted by Governor Hiram Johnson from 1911 to 1916. See Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and Progressives, 1911-1917*, pp. 34-55, 70-91 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).
65. "A Survey of Los Angeles City Government," *California Outlook*, 14:10, 18 (April 26, 1913). In later years important procedural innovations such as an efficiency commission, standardized salaries, and an executive budget were adopted. See Efficiency Commission, *The City Government of Los Angeles*, 1-3 (Los Angeles, 1914); William C. Beyer, "Standardization of Salaries in American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, 5:269, 271 (April 1916; Municipal League of Los Angeles, *Bulletin, Light on Your City's Affair*, 2:8-9 (June 1925)).

Charles Fey and San Francisco's Liberty Bell Slot Machine

MARSHALL A. FEY

Grandson of the inventor of the three-reel slot machine

COIN-OPERATED GAMBLING DEVICES first appeared in San Francisco in the early 1890's. Soon thereafter, an alarmist article in the *Daily News*—headlined “Fifteen Hundred Swindling Machines in One City”—bemoaned the “mushroom growth” in past months of the “nickle in the slot lotteries,” as coin-operated gambling devices were called, and noted approvingly that one C. R. Bennett, the secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Vice, was about to lay a formal complaint against them before the chief of police.¹

Any efforts that may have been made to control the proliferation of the gaming machines in San Francisco's many saloons proved futile, for in 1895 Bavarian-born mechanic Charles Fey invented an ingenious three-reel gambling device that proved irresistibly popular and rapidly became the backbone of the entire gambling-machine industry. Fey dubbed his machine the “Liberty Bell” in honor of the United States' famous symbol of freedom,² and from this name the generic term “bell slot machine” evolved. This designation is common trade parlance for the popular three-reel slot machines found in most American casinos today.

Fey placed his first Liberty Bell machine in a San Francisco saloon, possibly along the Embarcadero, to test its worth. Its instant popularity sent him back to his cellar shop where, after forsaking his mechanic job, he constructed more of the machines by hand and soon had the machines in every waterfront saloon and gathering place. Ship's crews from Alaska, South America, Australia, and the Orient reportedly began playing the machines to the exclusion of similar entertainment machines.³

As the lucrative business continued to expand, Fey found he could no longer operate out of his home workshop; he needed larger quarters. In 1897 he set up his first shop on the third floor of an ornate building at 406 Market Street, where he remained until 1906.⁴ Fey proudly referred to his headquarters as “the best equipped shop west of the Mississippi.” His staff handled the manufacturing and servicing of the machines, while Fey happily resumed tinkering, designing, remodeling, and improving his own machines and those of other manufacturers. As more and more saloons, gaming establishments, and brothels demanded the slots, Charles Fey & Co. extended its operations as far south as San Jose, across San Francisco Bay, and to cities in central California.⁵

Fey refused to patent his machine. He also refused to sell or lease his machines; instead he operated and serviced them on a percentage basis. For a number of



Charles August Fey, a mechanic by trade, invented the compact and lucrative Liberty Bell slot machine in 1885. The machine shown above was rescued from the Fey workshop during the 1906 fire.



OPPOSITE: Until Fey's invention, the cumbersome Mills Dewey machine was the most popular in the trade.

years the San Francisco area maintained a monopoly on the three-reel slot machine, but the fame of the mechanical marvel spread rapidly across the country. Then, one day in 1905, catastrophe struck Fey's exclusive operation: one of the Liberty Bell slots disappeared from a Powell Street saloon.⁶

As Fey had most feared, the machine came into a competitor's hands and surfaced at the Chicago factory of the Mills Novelty Company.⁷ At the time Herbert Mills was successfully manufacturing the very popular Dewey slot machine, named for the hero of the Spanish American War, but rumors of the amazingly popular Liberty Bell titillated Mills' entrepreneurial imagination. Mills had earlier tried to buy one of the machines, but Fey refused to sell. Mills had then attempted to lease one, but Fey would not let a single machine out of his domain. Then Mills offered to handle the eastern states on a percentage basis, but Fey was not interested.⁸

The moment the coveted machine arrived at Mills' factory, Mills called in his best mechanic, and they took it apart. A small wooden box about a foot square contained the gambling apparatus. Mills marveled at the device's compact size—his Dewey-model machine filled a massive, free-standing cabinet. To work the machine, he observed, the player would insert a nickel into a horizontal slot and

THE MILLS DEWEY Jack Pot

SIX SLOTS

For nickels or quarters

With or without music

Our old reliable Dewey, with all the well-known Dewey features—and a JACK POT feature added.

Jack Pot is in full sight of the players.

Jack Pot constantly accumulates, until it looks to the player like a whole hatful of nickels.

Jack Pot gets the play where there would be "nothing doing" with an ordinary machine.

Jack Pot takes the place of the \$2 reward.

Other rewards are the same as the regular Dewey.

Has Mills Slug Detector and Mills Anti-clogging Device, the same as the regular Dewey.



Dimensions, 69x36x23 inches
Gross weight, 340 4 pounds

press a small triangular lever with his thumb. Inscribed on three wheels of fortune were several repeated symbols. With ten symbols per wheel, possible combinations numbered ten times ten times ten, or one thousand combinations. Since there was only one special symbol on each wheel, the odds of winning the grand prize were 999 to 1. Mills' Dewey slot machine with its single disc had but one hundred combinations. Fey's machine, Mills deduced after feeding it a stack of nickels, gave the house twice the profit of any machine put out by Mills, yet the public was much more eager to play Fey's machine. Why?, wondered Mills.⁹

Then it occurred to him. On all his coin games, the percentage in favor of the house could easily be calculated by an intelligent player because all the symbols were in full view and the possible combinations were easily ascertained. On the Liberty Bell machine, only three symbols were exposed in the window at one time, making it impossible for a player to judge the generosity of the machine.

RING OUT THE OLD
Machines, and get a Liberty Bell--It is the

Most Marvelous

Card Machine ever manufactured

Four machines in one—FIRST, can be operated with a 5c coin or check, and will pay rewards automatically in five cent checks.

SECOND, can be operated with five cent coins exclusively, and will pay rewards automatically in five cent coins exclusively.

THIRD, can be operated with 5c checks exclusively, and will pay its rewards automatically in 5c checks exclusively.

FOURTH, can be operated as a plain trade card machine by simply closing up the pay-out tube.



Size, 22x13x12 inches
Shipping weight, 118 pounds

These Tests Tell the Story
"I have six Liberty Bells going. They bring me \$167.50 a week."

J. B. Keeney, Huron, S. D.
"Liberty Bells work O. K. Send me two more by express."

Oshkosh Novelty Co.,
Oshkosh, Wis.
"The Liberty Bell is all you claim for it. Ship another at once."

Hutson Bros.,
Welch, W. Va.
"The Liberty Bell runs like a clock. It has taken off as much money in 15 days as our old one did in three months."

Russell & Heinlein,
East Grand Forks, Minn.

THE LIBERTY BELL

Dimensions, 22x13x12 inches
Gross weight, 118 pounds

RING IN THE NEW
Hundreds of men have found Liberty Bell a big

MoneyMaker

and you will find it so too, if you give it a trial
CAN BE ADJUSTED to meet all requirements in your town. You can change it at will from one style of machine to another. In the twinkling of an eye it becomes a Trade Stimulator, a Money Machine or a Check Machine.

THE CONSTRUCTION is the same as all MILLS Machines. Every part is durable and carefully made and the finished machine is an ornament to any counter.

	or		Wins \$1.00 In Trade
	or		Wins 80 c In Trade
	or		Wins 60 c In Trade
	or		Wins 40 c In Trade
	or		Wins 20 c In Trade
	or		Wins 10 c In Trade

N. B. Rewards are only paid when three or more are shown on Reels in exact position as printed on card table. Rewards continue until game is lost and then stop.

MILLS NOVELTY CO. CHICAGO, U. S. A.

After stealing one of Fey's machines, Mills successfully marketed his own version.

While the house's take was 40 per cent of the play, no outsider could determine this without disassembling a machine.¹⁰ As well, Mills discovered, the Fey machine was fast—it took only five to ten seconds to lose a nickel. Aware that he himself unconsciously held his breath while the three wheels turned, he understood its intrinsic excitement—it had drama.

It was not long before Mills began to mass produce Bell slot machines, which he named Mills Liberty Bell slots. While the machine's case differed from Fey's, the name and basic mechanism were the same. (The identical mechanism is used in mechanical machines today.)¹¹ Before long, Mills became the largest manufacturer of Bell slot machines in the world, a position he maintained for over fifty years.¹² Following Mills, two other pioneers of the coin machine industry who had also manufactured Dewey-type slots began producing their own Bell slots, complete with cases almost identical to the Fey Liberty Bell. The Caille Liberty Bell was manufactured in Detroit by the Caille Brothers Manufacturing Company and the Watling Liberty Bell in Chicago by the Watling Manufacturing Company.¹³ The Liberty Bell slot had spread from a cellar workshop in San Francisco to the eastern United States and was on its way throughout the world.

Back in 1906, however, Fey was only slightly troubled by his new competition in the East, for business was good, and Fey had just moved his family into a new house in San Francisco's Western Addition. Then, early on the morning of April 18, the family was awakened by the violent shakes of a tremendous earth-

quake. Quickly ascertaining that the only apparent damage to his Broderick Street residence was a crack in the front retaining wall (still visible today), Fey made his family safe and rushed downtown to his shop. Arriving at the 400 block of Market Street, he found bricks strewn about the area. A corner of the wall of his shop and large sections from the neighboring buildings at 404 and 414 Market had collapsed during the quake. A section of the fourth-floor wall of the adjoining building at 404 Market crashed through his roof, scattering bricks throughout the shop.¹⁴

But following the quake came devastating fires. Within four blocks of Fey's shop, five major uncontrolled fires broke out. Later in the day all hope of saving this section of Market Street was abandoned. Charles Fey hastened to a nearby livery stable for his horse and buggy and quickly returned to his doomed shop to salvage what he could. Fortunately he saved his most prized possession, the original Liberty Bell machine, and a few lesser valuables.¹⁵

After the fire Fey returned to find the handsome edifice that once housed his shop in a complete state of ruin. The interior of the building had been completely gutted by the fire, and all that was salvagable was a mass of molten nickels found in the cash can of a slot machine buried in rubble on the ground floor. He mounted this plug of melted nickels on a casting and treasured it afterwards as a memento of the holocaust.¹⁶

The earthquake and fire of 1906 not only destroyed Fey's Market Street shop,

During the earthquake a section of the fourth-floor wall at 404 Market (left foreground) crashed through the roof of Fey's adjacent third-floor shop at 406 Market, leaving only the fourth-floor facade standing at 404 Market.



but the downtown businesses, and the machines housed in those businesses, which constituted the bulk of Fey's slot machine enterprise. As such it marked the end of an era. While Fey went on to produce other types of coin-operated machines, the inventor-mechanic and, consequently, the City of San Francisco, would never again be one of the major manufacturers of the three-reel Bell slot machine.

THE PHOTOS on pages 58 and 62 (right) are in the author's collection; those on pages 59 and 60 are from the *Mills Novelty Catalog*, c. 1909; and the earthquake scenes on pages 61 and 62 are from the California Historical Society Collection.

NOTES

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, "A Nest of Lotteries," July 10, 1893; "In the Slot Lotteries," *San Francisco Daily News*, August 29, 1893.
2. Fey has been credited as the inventor of the three-reel Bell slot machine in many books and periodicals, including *Spinning Reels* (publication of the Mills Novelty Co., Chicago), January, 1929; "Charlie Fey's Own Story," *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937; "The Slot Machine King," *American Mercury*, September, 1940, p. 100; *San Francisco Examiner*, September 4, 1940, p. 11, September 15, 1948, p. 23, June 12, 1955, p. 7; "Mechanical Larceny," *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39; "Slot Machine," *World Book Encyclopedia*, vol. 17 (1971).
3. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
4. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1897-1906.
5. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
6. Interview with Edmund C. Fey, son of Charles Fey.
7. *American Mercury*, September, 1940, p. 103; *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39.
8. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 39.
9. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 106.
10. *True Magazine*, April, 1948, p. 106.
11. *Mills Novelty Catalog*, c. 1910.
12. Interview with Jesse J. McNeil, general manager of T. J. M. Corporation, Reno, Nevada, current manufacturers of Mills slot machines.
13. *Billboard Magazine*, February 18, 1911. "Pioneers on Parade," *Coin Machine Journal*, July, 1949, lists the four pioneers of the coin machine industry as Charles Fey, Herbert Mills, Thomas Watling, and Adolph Caille. It also credits Fey as the inventor of the three-reel Bell slot.
14. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
15. William Bronson, *The Earth Shook, The Sky Burned* (Garden City, New York: 1959), inside cover map; interview with Edmund C. Fey. The original Liberty Bell machine is on display in the Liberty Belle Saloon and Restaurant in Reno, Nevada.
16. *Coin Machine Review*, January, 1937.
17. The San Francisco chapter of E Clampus Vitus plans to erect a plaque commemorating Charles Fey's invention at the site of his pre-earthquake workshop. The plaque will be placed on the Zellerbach Building at Market Street above Sansome Street.



This photo may show Fey rescuing the original slot machine from his shop before the fire devastated it. Nickels melted together in the slot's cash can.



California's *Caminito Real*

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THE VASTNESS OF THE AREA of Alta California under ecclesial supervision in Hispanic times, possibly as much as one-sixth of the total territory,¹ necessitated the erection of facilities at *presidios* and in outlying regions for neophytes unable to satisfy their religious obligations at one or another of the formally-established missions.² While very little in the way of evidence can be gleaned from the annals about these peripheral foundations, it would seem that the gathering of the scant available documentation into a single essay can be justified by the Scriptural exhortation, repeated so frequently in the writings of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, "*collegite quæ superaverunt fragments, ne pereant.*"³ The data here assembled on the chapels or *capillas* that dotted the skyline of pre-1850 California relates exclusively to non-mission or extra-mission foundations.⁴

I. QUASI-MISSIONS

Missionary establishments along the Colorado River, staffed by friars from the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, were not patterned after the plan used so successfully in the coastal foundations.⁵ Local friars, for example, exercised no control over temporalities, and natives were not required to live in regular mission communities. The arrangement proved to be "a criminally stupid blunder,"⁶ in the opinion of one chronicler. Another authority characterized the plan as calling for "neither a *presidio*, a mission, nor a *pueblo*, each of which was intelligible to a Spaniard, but a mongrel affair nobody could manage, combining features of all three such establishments."⁷ Two such "mongrel" foundations operated in Alta California.

Named to honor Purísima Concepción de Maria Santísima, the first was situated on the California side of the Colorado River at present-day Fort Yuma. It was founded on December 8, 1780. San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, the second *pueblo*, was located at another of the Yuma *rancherías* downstream.⁸

Presumably, chapels were built at both sites, and the missionaries attempted to coax the natives from their villages for liturgical services on Sundays and major feastdays. Even though the friars found the experimental system wholly inadequate, one optimistically reported in January of 1781 that "the conversion of the Yumas is progressing quite well at the present time. . . ."⁹

Whatever may have been the physical state of the *capillas* at the two establishments, both were destroyed in July of 1781 when the Yuma Indians rebelled and

massacred soldiers, settlers, and four of the resident friars. By way of footnote, Hubert Howe Bancroft observed that the Yumas were not subdued, peace was not made, and the rebel chiefs were not captured: "The nation remained independent of all Spanish control, and was always more or less hostile. Neither *presidio*, mission, nor *pueblo* was ever again established on the Colorado; and communication by this route never ceased to be attended with danger."¹⁰

II. ASISTENCIAS

Several assistant missions or *asistencias* were set up as branches or extensions of fully-established and flourishing foundations. By definition, an *asistencia* was "a Mission on a small scale with all the requisites for a Mission, and with Divine Service held regularly on days of obligation, except that it lacked a resident priest."¹¹ Of the five *asistencias* functioning in Provincial California, only one, that of San Rafael,¹² ever achieved full mission status.

ASISTENCIA SANTA MARGARITA DE CORTONA

There is reason to believe that the Asistencia Santa Margarita de Cortona may have been established as early as 1787. Certainly it was in use three years later when a pensioned corporal, known only as Cayuelas, "asked in the name of his wife for lands at Santa Margarita belonging to that mission."¹³ His request was opposed, probably with success, on the grounds that the acreage was needed for community purposes.

A large concentration of Indians in the area accounted for the foundation. The generous water supply of the Santa Margarita River, alluded to by Juan Bautista de Ánza in 1776,¹⁴ contrasted sharply with the rareness of that commodity at nearby Mission San Luis Obispo. As one historian has noted, "the friars would not have been slow in recognizing the advantage to their grain crops and also to their herds from the *rancho's* better-watered fields with their luxuriant growth of alfilerilla and burr clover."¹⁵ The "broad, rich pastures" described by J. Ross Browne¹⁶ gave Santa Margarita an added importance in the years between 1811 and 1820, when the number of supply ships from Mexico was severely curtailed. Because of its rugged approach trails, Santa Margarita afforded an ideal asylum for natives when the coastal area was harassed by such invaders as Hipólite Bouchard, as is evident in an inventory of Mission San Luis Obispo for 1822, which describes the *asistencia* "as an inland retreat in case of attack by the sea."¹⁷

According to Alfred Robinson, the buildings of Santa Margarita in 1829 contained store-rooms for different kinds of grain and apartments for the accommodation of the *mayordomo*, servants, and wayfarers. At one end was a chapel and lodgings for the priest, who frequently spent several weeks at the place during the time of harvest. "The holy friars of the two missions," said Robinson, "occasionally met there to acknowledge to each other their sins."¹⁸

By the time of Joaquín Estrada's petition for a property grant at Santa Margarita on April 7, 1841, there were 17,734 acres attached to the ranch, much of it along the rich bottom of the Salinas River. According to Estrada, the house on the land was "in ruins and ready to fall down." He promised "not to make use of it nor to hinder said mission from using it as it may see fit."¹⁹ On September 17, 1841, acting Governor Manuel Casarín Jimeno granted Estrada's request, and

thirteen years later the claim was upheld by the United States Land Commission.

When Martin Murphy of Santa Clara purchased the *rancho* in 1861 for \$45,000, the *asistencia* of Santa Margarita was completely in ruins.²⁰ During Murphy's long tenure and that of his son, a number of "old Spanish customs, barbecues and rodeos" were revived.²¹ Soon after the Southern Pacific Railroad laid its tracks through the area parallel to *El Camino Real* in 1899, a town sprang up to serve the needs of construction crews working in the tunnels down the Cuesta Pass to San Luis Obispo.

The ruins of the *asistencia*'s main building are now protected from the elements by a large galvanized iron barn on the present-day ranch of William Reis, about half a mile due north of the town of Santa Margarita. Today, as one observer noticed, it is "a marvel that, in a climate of such high rainfall . . . and with the limitations imposed by the use of soluble adobe bricks and inadequately mortared stone, anything whatever is left."²² In addition to the *asistencia*, three adobe buildings still remain, the *hacienda*, main residence, and pump house.

Santa Margarita, located on an elevated piece of land alongside the river, was built of huge pieces of rough sandstone, red bricks, mortar, and tile. Walls three feet thick still stand at intervals of thirty feet from one another. Only the beamed ceilings have collapsed with the passage of time. The exquisitely-designed interior arches indicate skillful planning.

ASISTENCIA SAN ANTONIO DE PALA

The picturesque Asistencia San Antonio de Pala, located in a narrow valley about twenty miles from Mission San Luis Rey at the base of Palomar Mountain, has been described as "the most interesting of all the chapels in the mission chain."²³ First mention of Pala, a place of abundant water, appears in the annual report of Mission San Luis Rey for 1810, wherein Father Antonio Peyri recorded building a granary at Rancho de Pala. Six years later, a chapel was constructed there, and "within a year or two about a thousand converts were gathered to till the soil and recite the doctrine."²⁴ By 1818, a town was beginning to take shape, and three years later Father Mariano Payéras noted that nothing was lacking at Pala for a mission, save the assignment of a resident friar.

The *asistencia* prospered, and in 1827 José Maria Echeandía reported that Mission San Luis Rey "has a station called San Antonio de Pala, with a church, dwellings, and granaries and with a few fields where wheat, corn, beans, garbanzos, and other leguminous plants are grown."²⁵ San Antonio was sold, along with Mission San Luis Rey, on November 14, 1845, to José A. Cot and José A. Pico in a transaction subsequently nullified by the United States Land Commission. Today San Antonio de Pala is the only one of the California missionary establishments still serving the spiritual needs of an exclusively Indian population, the Palatinguas, who were moved there from Warner's Ranch by the United States government.

ASISTENCIA SANTA YSABÉL

Far in the back country, about sixty miles from San Diego in the secluded peace of a mountain valley, is a lonely outpost of Provincial California, the site of the Asistencia Santa Ysabel. There is evidence that Father Fernando Martín blessed

the site for a *capilla* of Santa Ysabel (Elcuanam) on September 20, 1818, and soon thereafter erected a temporary chapel.

On February 2, 1819, Father Vicente Sarriá, noting that in the place called Santa Ysabel toward the Sierra they could count a goodly number of baptized souls, asked the governor for a permit to erect a house of worship.²⁶ Authorization was eventually granted, and "by 1822 a chapel had been built at Santa Isabél, and there were also several houses, a granary, and a graveyard, with four hundred and fifty neophytes at this branch establishment, which proved a great aid in keeping the gentiles quiet."²⁷ A report dated May 7, 1839, revealed that the natives at Santa Ysabel "have their fields on which they cultivate wheat, barley, corn, beans, horse-beans, peas and other seeds for their maintenance, besides keeping two vineyards and orchards and their horses."²⁸

As early as 1836, however "the corrosion of mountain weather began to inch into the foundation of the lovely chapel and other buildings."²⁹ Before the passage of another decade, the chapel was in utter ruins and the mud houses no longer habitable. By the time the Church regained title to Santa Ysabel in 1893, practically nothing of the original establishment remained. A contemporary account, written in 1899, testified that the adobe walls of the church, leveled by time and washed by winter rains, "have sunk into indistinguishable heaps of earth which vaguely define the outlines of the ancient edifice."³⁰ Nonetheless, as Zephyrin Engelhardt observed in 1920, "all the natives from the coast to the Sierras around Santa Ysabel were eventually won for Christ, and of all the Indians still living in San Diego County, those who survived the eviction from the mission and its stations through the greed of unscrupulous fortune hunters, have generally speaking themselves or their descendants remained not only the most numerous but also the most religious and moral."³¹

Although frequently referred to as a "mission,"³² Santa Ysabel was only an *asistencia*, lacking "only a resident priest to make it a mission."³³ Those visiting the region today will find that nothing remains of the original buildings uncovered and identified in 1963 by a team of archaeologists, beyond the bare outlines of the structure, faintly visible under the pasture grass.³⁴

ASISTENCIA NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS ANGELES

The last of the *asistencias* reviewed in this essay differed sharply from its counterparts insofar as it was never intended as an independent mission. Rather, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles was envisioned as a *pueblo* church, destined as such to achieve autonomy only in the parochial sphere.³⁵

Early annals indicate that a crude adobe *capilla* was erected before the end of 1784, near the corner of later-day Buena Vista Street and Bellevue Avenue.³⁶ Completed in 1789, it "somewhat resembled the Chapel of the hospital of the old Mission at San Gabriel which was built in 1814."³⁷ A petition was made for a new edifice in 1810, and four years later Father Luis Gíl revealed plans to lay the first stone on the fifteenth of August,³⁸ the *pueblo's* titular feastday. Unfortunately, the half-completed structure, located in the vicinity of Aliso Street and the river,³⁹ was destroyed by a flood in 1815.

The present Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles dates from 1822, when Father Mariano Payéras spearheaded a drive to raise the necessary requisites from

the previously-established missions. On December 8, the church "conceived in brandy, roofed by a pirate, and dedicated to the Holy Mother of God,"⁴⁰ was formally set aside as a place of divine worship. Completion of the edifice did not bring about independence from San Gabriel, for even after 1822, "Los Angeles was still regarded as an *asistencia*, not as a parish."⁴¹ Priestly ministrations at the church were furnished by *padres* from San Gabriel until the appointment of a resident chaplain.

The *asistencia*, never architecturally outstanding, profited little from its numerous restorations. An historian of the site has observed, "Lacking good written history, the building has suffered in the literary realm as well as the historical. Repeated remodelings eventually robbed the building of its 'Spanish' appearance, and when this disappeared the interest of the writer, the architect, and the historian waned. Not being a 'mission,' it was relegated to the sideline, as the ever-present tourist came to California to see missions . . . and not Victorianized *pueblo* churches of the Spanish Colonial Period."⁴²

III. PRESIDIO CHAPELS

Besides furnishing guards for the various missions, the *presidios* in Provincial California were charged with protecting the general interests of the Spanish government. The *presidios* or forts were not looked upon as either *asistencias* or mission stations, having as they did a purpose all their own. Though the realm was obligated to provide chaplains for these foundations, the actual burden of caring for the spiritual needs of those attached to the forts usually fell, by default, to the friars at the closest mission. Each of the four major *presidios* had its own *capilla*, where the *padres* functioned while attending the garrison.

SAN DIEGO

Although there was probably an earlier temporary settlement, the birthplace of civilization in Alta California is traditionally associated with a spot near present-day San Diego, atop the incline known as Presidio Hill. There, on July 16, 1769, huts were built, one of which was dedicated as a church. By December 10, 1773, Father Francisco Palóu was able to report to the viceroy that "inside the stockade is the church which consists of a chapel made of logs with a tule roof."⁴³ This building served the Indians of the area until the mission was moved to the valley upstream in August of 1774. Earlier that year on January 1 the military camp at San Diego was advanced to presidial status and officially authorized to quarter the guards and military force attached to the mission.

The San Diego buildings themselves were of a mediocre construction and to such visitors as George Vancouver "the Presidio of San Diego seemed to be the least of the Spanish settlements."⁴⁴ José Maria Echeandía made his headquarters there from 1825 to 1829, but after his departure the whole compound was abandoned, and gradually the walls of the adobe chapel crumbled into shapeless mounds of earth. The site was reactivated only in 1929, when a civic-minded organization erected on Presidio Hill the Junípero Serra museum.

SAN CARLOS

La Capilla del Real Presidio, the provincial era's most important church in the

political sense, was erected for the benefit of the governor, the officers and soldiers of the *presidio*, and their families.

In the initial foundation, located along the shore of the beach not far from where the packet-boats anchored, an "arbor of boughs" served as the proto-chapel of the *presidio*.⁴⁵ It was formally placed under the spiritual patronage of San Carlos Borromeo on June 3, 1770.

Permanent buildings were observed under construction, and the pioneers built a chapel of palings to serve as a makeshift house-of-worship. It was readied for use on July 14, 1770.⁴⁶ During the first weeks, the original buildings constituted both *presidio* and church.

Manuel Estévan Ruíz, one of the master-masons sent to California after 1790 to teach whites and Indians trades and skills useful to the colony, supervised the construction of the sandstone church which he situated on the south side of the plaza as part of the twelve-foot wall enclosing the entire compound. Completed in 1794 by Indian laborers, the *capilla* was blessed on January 25, 1795, by Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén.⁴⁷

An early description of the *capilla* is contained in an official report to Viceroy Antonio Maria Bucareli, dated November 29, 1773, by Captain Pedro Fages:

In the wing of the *presidio* on the south side facing the base is an adobe church whose foundations are of stone set in mortar. These foundations extend two quarters above the surface and are a *vara* and a half in width. Upon these foundations rise the walls five fourths in thickness. The church is fifteen *varas* long, seven *varas* wide and seven *varas* high. Twenty hewn beams each a palm in width and ten *varas* in length have an overlay of cane and upon this rests the roof which is flat. This has a cover of lime. The roof has four spouts to carry off the rain water.⁴⁸

The present *capilla* never actually functioned as a mission church, inasmuch as Fray Junípero Serra relocated Mission San Carlos Borromeo at Carmel in August, 1771.

In 1885 the chapel was enlarged, and three years later the transept, with its elaborately-carved doors, was added. The ornate facade completed in 1796 remains almost as erected, although the pyramidal roof upon the tower was added in 1893. San Carlos enjoyed the distinction of being a pro-cathedral in 1851-1853, when Bishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany resided at Monterey and frequently pontificated at liturgical functions in the historic edifice. Presently, San Carlos, the hub of a busy parochial center, serves as the mother-church of the re-christened Diocese of Monterey.

SAN FRANCISCO

The site for the *presidio* at San Francisco was selected by Juan Bautista de Anza on March 28, 1776, and dedicated on the following September 17. By 1792, however, "none of the structures were those originally built."⁴⁹ A second chapel was severely damaged by earthquake in 1808, and, two years later, the governor reported that storms had completely destroyed the adobe edifice.

In 1825, Benjamin Morrell described the *presidio* as comprising only about 120 houses and a church.⁵⁰ The next year an English navigator spoke of the chapel and the governor's houses as being distinguished only by their whitewash. After

1836 no regular troops were stationed there, and by 1840 the adobe chapel was in ruins.

SANTA BARBARA

Santa Barbara, the last of the presidial *pueblos*,⁵¹ was founded on "the edge of a grove of oaks apart from the beach and the Indian village, and not far away from the lagoon."⁵² The formal inauguration took place on April 21, 1782, when Father Junípero Serra said Mass and chanted an *alabado*.⁵³ Francisco Palóu noted that the following day, soldiers "began to hew wood to build a chapel. . . ."⁵⁴ Situated opposite the *presidio* gate, the adobe church was flanked on one side by the house of the *comandante* and on the other by that of the chaplain.

Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén recorded that in 1786 the dilapidated condition of the church forced him to baptize in private homes.⁵⁵ A rebuilt adobe edifice was finished in 1797,⁵⁶ but the disastrous tremblors of 1812 practically obliterated the entire *presidio*. Again, however, the church was restored, and by the time José Antonio de la Guerra arrived at Santa Barbara in 1815, it was "the pride of the Spanish forces in California."⁵⁷ In 1831, a resident chaplain, Father Antonio Menéndez, O.P., was given charge of the *capilla*. The chapel was no longer used after the erection of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, and in 1855, the venerable adobe was torn down.

IV. ESTANCIAS

As the neophyte population increased, it became necessary to remove the flocks and herds from the immediate vicinity of the missions where land was needed for growing fruits and vegetables. The first of the mission ranches or *estancias* came into being in 1774, when the *padres* from San Diego opened a corral for mares and horses at nearby Rancho San Luis. In some cases, *capillas* or chapels were provided at those outpost stations. Since the mission ranches themselves eventually fell into private hands, most of the *capillas* were alienated and later abandoned. For that reason, the few references found in the annals about those chapels give only fragmentary and oftentimes misleading information. In some cases, the very existence of a particular *capilla* is questioned. Those mentioned here are arranged chronologically by the earliest known dates.

One of the most pressing needs at Mission San Francisco de Asís was tillable land to offset the inadequate acreage in the area of Lake Dolores. As a result, in 1785 Fray Francisco Palóu established Rancho San Pedro y San Pablo about fourteen miles southeast of the mission for that purpose.⁵⁸ The adobe chapel was once thought to have been erected soon after the earthquake of 1808.⁵⁹ A more recent evaluation indicates that the *capilla* is likely identical with the one reected in 1786. The chapel, a storehouse, and two other undesignated rooms are first mentioned in the annual report of Mission San Francisco for 1786, where they are referred to as "*la nueva labor de San Pedro y San Pablo*."⁶⁰ It was there, in 1787, that "an Indian child called Maria was baptized in the church at that place."⁶¹ The *padres* subsequently declared that without the agricultural outpost of San Pedro y San Pablo, they could not have provided for their neophytes and the maintenance of the parent foundation.⁶² The adobe building, occasionally referred to in the annals as San Mateo, was demolished after sustaining serious damage in the tremblors of 1868.

A temporary chapel was erected in 1808⁶³ for the Indian community residing at the entrance to Casitas Pass, seven miles north of Mission San Buenaventura. Placed under the patronage of Santa Gertrudis, the chapel substituted for the parent institution which was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1812. It is related that after the tremor, "a jacal church was improvised and several baptisms and burials are recorded in the mission registers as having taken place there."⁶⁴ The last official mention of the *capilla* was made in 1857, although it may have survived until 1868. By 1880, the chapel was in ruins, its adobe cracked by time and weather, its tile roof sagging perilously.⁶⁵

In 1803, "in order to attend better to the necessities of the Indians, and facilitate their attendance at Mass and instructions, a station was selected and a Church built on a large *rancheria* called *Sagshpileel*, six miles from Santa Barbara."⁶⁶ A little adobe dedicated to San Miguel was erected among a well-cultivated orchard, and it served the spiritual needs of those neophytes attached to Santa Barbara's main wheat ranch until it was destroyed by earthquake in 1812. Its ruins were discernible as late as 1886.⁶⁷

One prominent historian states that after 1804,⁶⁸ on the cattle ranch of San Márcos (Mistwaghechewary) near the further side of the pass bearing the same appellation, "a chapel of adobe was also built in order that the *Padres* might celebrate Mass when they came to inspect the *rancho*."⁶⁹ Despite the fact that the noted historian, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, endowed the foundation with the dignity of *asistencia*,⁷⁰ a thorough examination of the early Santa Barbara inventories creates some doubt about the very existence of the *capilla*.⁷¹ The eminent Maynard J. Geiger stated categorically to this writer that "there was no chapel in San Márcos Ranch."⁷²

According to Bancroft, "in 1809, Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga approved the building of a chapel at San Miguelito,"⁷³ one of the *estancias* attached to Mission San Luis Obispo. If a chapel was ever built on the corn and bean ranch, it certainly had perished by 1830, when the ranch and buildings of San Miguelito,⁷⁴ located a few miles from the quaint town of Avila, were destroyed by the elements. Father José Zalvidéa wrote in 1816 from La Puente, a cattle ranch of Mission San Gabriel, that a chapel was needed for the 600 Indians of that area.⁷⁵ But here, as at San Miguelito, there is no physical evidence that one was ever erected.

The small *colegiata* of San Miguel Arcángel, located less than a mile from Mission San Buenaventura, was probably intended as some sort of local shrine.⁷⁶ It was replaced in 1816 with a more sturdy edifice and, in a report of May 4, 1819, Father Mariano Payéras specifically mentioned a "chapel dedicated to Saint Michael."⁷⁷ The *capilla* was severely damaged by floods in 1832, and its crumbling walls were dismantled altogether in the 1870's.

On the grounds of the old San Bernardino Rancho is the restored *estancia* or *rancho* chapel mistakenly referred to as an *asistencia*.⁷⁸ In the years after concluding his extensive researches on the history of San Bernardino Valley, Father Juan Caballeria reportedly came across a record book at Mission San Gabriel which described how Fray Francisco Dumetz "founded a *capilla* on the Guachama *ranchería* on May 20, 1810, under the advocacy of San Bernardino de Siena."⁷⁹ Another prominent historian conjectured that the San Bernardino *estancia* supposedly established there lasted for about two years until a series of earthquakes

in 1812 so unnerved the unchristianized natives that they attacked the foundation, slew most of the neophytes, and burned the buildings.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, no corroborative evidence has been located to substantiate that claim and, in the absence of the book on which Caballeria based his contention, historians are generally inclined to agree with Hubert Howe Bancroft that "it does not appear that any station was established at San Bernardino, nor were any buildings erected there down to 1822."⁸¹ Caballeria's published history relates that "in 1819, the Guachama Indians requested the *padres* to again establish themselves in the valley. The request was favorably received and immediate steps were taken by the *padres* to build another and larger branch mission"⁸² at a location about eight miles from the original site. In subsequent years "it seems that at stated times the Fathers celebrated holy Mass there for the Indians guarding the herds, and that in time it would have developed into an *asistencia* or regular mission station."⁸³ Most recently, the *capilla* has been restored, along with other buildings at the site, and is now a worthwhile attraction.

One of the most famous of California's cattle ranches was that of San Pedro or Las Flores, attached to Mission San Luis Rey. From a commanding knoll overlooking the blue Pacific, Alfred Robinson described in great detail how its gardens were "cultivated by the Indians, for their own personal benefit."⁸⁴ A *capilla* was put up on the ranch sometime before 1823,⁸⁵ and Father Antonio Peyri noted on December 22, 1827, that "Rancho San Pedro, known as Los Flores . . . has a house, granaries, and a chapel."⁸⁶ Two decades later, William B. Emory related that his expedition encamped near Las Flores which, by then, was like a "deserted mission. . . ."⁸⁷

Sometime prior to 1824, perhaps as early as 1806, Father José Zalvidéa, hoping to establish a frontier outpost in the San Joaquin Valley, succeeded in erecting the walls of a stone church. Had his efforts materialized, "San Emigdio would undoubtedly have developed along the lines of San Antonio de Pala."⁸⁸ In later years the building served as headquarters for Rancho San Emigdio and, after 1842, was utilized for a residence by the Dominguez Family. The remains of "San Emigdio *Extendencia* [sic]" were still visible, in 1936.⁸⁹

The small chapel at Rancho San Francisco, formerly affiliated with Mission San Fernando, is located in the refurbished adobe built sometime after 1804. When Antonio del Valle took over the Camulos Ranch in 1839, his family occupied the building and fashioned four rooms of the adobe into a *capilla*. Located in a narrow valley between two mountain chains, the historic edifice has remained essentially unchanged since 1881 when Helen Hunt Jackson used the setting for part of her novel, *Ramona*. The historian of Rancho San Francisco erroneously labelled it a "mission *asistencia*"⁹⁰ although it lacked even a chapel prior to 1839.

While sharing little of the romantic aura now associated with the twenty-one missions themselves, the widely scattered network of *capillas* in California, whether they were attached to quasi-missions, *presidios*, *asistencias*, or *estancias*, were no less exalted in purpose than those of their parent foundations. Like the missions in whose shadow they functioned, the *capillas* testify, even in their ruins, "to a spirit of devotion and sacrifice which can be understood only by the knowledge of the divine vocation which called them [the friars] to leave home and kindred and give up their lives to the people confided to their spiritual care."⁹¹

Non-Mission Ecclesiastical Foundations
in Provincial California
1769-1840

TITLE OF FOUNDATION	DATE	STATUS
San Diego	1769	Presidio
San Carlos	1770	Presidio
San Francisco	1776	Presidio
Purísima Concepción de Maria Santísima	1780	Quasi-Mission
San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer	1780	Quasi-Mission
Santa Barbara	1782	Presidio
Nuestra Señora de los Angeles	1784	Asistencia
San Pedro y San Pablo	1785	Estancia
Santa Margarita de Cortuna	1787	Asistencia
San Miguel Arcángel	1803	Estancia
San Márcos	After 1804	Estancia
Santa Gertrudis	1808	Estancia
San Miguelito	1809	Estancia
San Antonio de Pala	1810	Asistencia
San Miguel Arcángel	Before 1816	Estancia
La Puente	c. 1816	Estancia
San Rafael Arcángel	1817	Asistencia
Santa Ysabel	1818	Asistencia
San Bernardino	1822	Estancia
San Pedro (Las Flores)	Before 1823	Estancia
San Emígдио	Before 1824	Estancia
San Francisco	After 1839	Estancia

NOTES

1. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California*, 12 (Berkeley, 1948).
2. In this context a mission can be defined as "a congregation of convert Indians who makes their homes in a village close by the church and who under the eyes of one or two missionary priests learn and practice the Christian Religion, and for their own maintenance are taught mechanical and domestic arts, gardening, agriculture, and stockraising, in order to become useful citizens." See Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Gabriel Mission*, 347 (San Gabriel, 1927).
3. "Gather up the fragments that remain, lest they perish." John 6:12.
4. Study of the present mission churches and their predecessors would be a worthy research in itself. In addition to the first two of California's missions which originated at presidial sites, six of the missions were moved from their initial location, one three times.
5. For a brief outline of this type of missionary establishment, see Juan Domingo Arricivita, O.F.M., *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de las Santa Cruz de Querétaro*, 497-502 (Mexico, 1792).
6. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, II:352 (San Francisco, 1912).
7. Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, I:19 (New York, 1900).
8. A third *pueblo*, to be named San Lorenzo, apparently never materialized. It may have been envisioned for that area between the other two *pueblos* where the friars "established a kind of missionary station . . . where the natives were occasionally assembled for religious instruction." See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, I:360 (San Francisco, 1884).
9. Juan Barreneche to Guardian, Fort Yuma, January 16, 1781. Quoted in Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 461 (Washington, 1955).
10. Bancroft, *History*, I:370-371.
11. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 347.
12. Founded on December 14, 1817, San Rafael was declared a mission in 1823.
13. Bancroft, *History*, I:610.
14. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, III:112 (Berkeley, 1930).
15. William R. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita of San Luis Obispo," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI:5 (March, 1957).
16. J. Ross Browne, "A Dangerous Journey," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, CXLV:14 (June, 1862).
17. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita," 7.
18. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California*, 53 (Oakland, 1947).
19. "Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 501, Joaquín Estrada vs. the United States," p. 12.
20. Francis P. Farquhar (ed.), *Up and Down California in 1860-1864. The Journal of William H. Brewer*, 93 (Berkeley, 1966).
21. Chris N. Jespersen, *A History of San Luis Obispo*, 306 (San Luis Obispo, 1939).
22. Cameron, "Rancho Santa Margarita," 14-15.
23. Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, 144 (Philadelphia, 1925).
24. Bancroft, *History*, II:347.
25. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Luis Rey Mission*, 51 (San Francisco, 1921).
26. Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Vicente Sarría to Mariano Payéras, Monterey, February 2, 1819.
27. Bancroft, *History*, II:552.
28. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Diego Mission*, 238 (San Francisco, 1920).
29. Charles Russell Quinn, *The Story of Mission Santa Ysabel*, 15 (Downey, 1964).
30. Constance Goddard du Bois, "Some Unknown Missions of California," *Land of Sunshine*, XI:318 (November, 1899).
31. Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 303.
32. George William Beattie, *California's Unbuilt Missions*, 47 (Los Angeles, 1930).
33. Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, 238.
34. Mildred Ruth Hoover, et al., *Historic Spots in California*, 335 (Stanford, 1966).
35. The only other early California *pueblo* having a *capilla* was that of San José de Guadalupe. A

small adobe was erected there in 1803 and, though weakened by earthquakes the following year, the little chapel lasted until 1835 when it was considerably enlarged. It was later encased in brick and perished in that condition for another twenty-four years until its destruction by fire in 1859. The present church dates only from 1887. Cf. Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., "Municipal Institutions in Spanish California, 1769-1821" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1962), p. 381.

36. Bancroft, *History*, I:346.
37. Andrew Resa, *History of the Old Plaza Mission*, 8 (Los Angeles, n.d.).
38. See Francis J. Weber, *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles*, 12 (Los Angeles, 1968).
39. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 101 (New York, 1926).
40. J. Thomas Owen, "The Church by the Plaza," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XLII:15-16 (March, 1960).
41. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 136.
42. Owen, "Church by the Plaza," 197.
43. Quoted in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, III:215 (Berkeley, 1926).
44. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (ed.), *Vanconver in California*, 230 (Los Angeles, 1954).
45. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Carlos Borromeo*, 26 (Santa Barbara, 1934).
46. See Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., "A Description of California's Principal Presidio, Monterey, in 1773," *Southern California Quarterly*, XL:X:326-36 (September, 1967).
47. James Culleton, *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey*, 144 (Fresno, 1950).
48. See Geiger, "Description of California's Principal Presidio, Monterey, in 1773," 328.
49. Bancroft, *History*, I:695.
50. Quoted in Bancroft, *History*, II:588.
51. See Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., *The Symbolism of Santa Barbara Presidio* (Santa Barbara, 1968).
52. Francisco Palóu, O.F.M., *Noticias de la Nueva California*, IV:241 (San Francisco, 1874).
53. Bancroft, *History*, I:377.
54. Geiger, *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, p. 230.
55. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Santa Barbara Mission*, 195 (San Francisco, 1923).
56. See Timothy S. Hillebrand, "Tentative Summary of Archaeological Findings at the Presidio Chapel Site," *Noticias*, XIII:n.p. (Autumn, 1967).
57. Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M., *El Gran Capitan*, 20 (Los Angeles, 1961).
58. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra*, O.F.M., II:393-94 (Washington, 1959).
59. Frank Merriman Stanger, "The Hospice or Mission San Mateo," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIII:253 (September, 1944).
60. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., "New Data on the Buildings of Mission San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVI:202 (September, 1967).
61. Stanger, "Mission San Mateo," p. 250.
62. "Annual Report of 1783," *Misiones de la Alta California*, 2a serie, tomo 2, Archivo General de la Nación.
63. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *Santa Barbara News-Press*, December 16, 1966.
64. Bancroft, *History*, II:365.
65. See Roberta S. Greenwood and R. O. Browne, "Preliminary Survey of the Rancho Canada Larga, Ventura County, California," *Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1962-1963*, pp. 467-497 (Los Angeles, 1963).
66. J. J. O'Keefe, O.F.M., *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara*, 17 (Santa Barbara, 1886).
67. Bancroft, *History*, II:120.
68. See Gloria Brooks Forsyth, "The Lost Chapel of Cieneguita," *Noticias*, VII:11-17 (Spring, 1961).
69. Edith Webb, *Indian Life at the Old Missions*, 97 (Los Angeles, 1952).
70. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV:457n.
71. See Dwight Murphy, "Ranchero San Marcos," *Noticias*, IV:1-7 (October, 1958).
72. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. to author, Santa Barbara, October 26, 1964.
73. Bancroft, *History*, II:148.

74. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Luis Obispo*, 122 (Santa Barbara, 1933).
75. Webb, *Indian Life*, 93.
76. Bancroft, *History*, II:365.
77. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *San Buenaventura*, 43 (Santa Barbara, 1930).
78. In a letter to the Apostolic College of San Fernando, in Mexico City, dated September 25, 1837, Fray Narciso Durán used the term *asistencia* in relation to San Bernardino. But, in fact, as Zephyrin Engelhardt explains in great detail, San Bernardino "was never as *Asistencia*, since it lacked all the requisites for such an establishment." See *San Gabriel Mission*, 347.
79. George William Beattie, "San Bernardino Valley before the Americans Came," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII:121 (June, 1933).
80. George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*, 282-85 (Boston, 1905).
81. Bancroft, *History*, II:356.
82. *History of San Bernardino Valley from the Padres to the Pioneers*, 66 (San Bernardino, 1892).
83. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission*, 143.
84. Robinson, *Life in California*, 18.
85. See Edgar W. Hebert, "Las Flores," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, VII:31-36 (July, 1961).
86. Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission*, 52.
87. *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* (Washington, 1848), p. 117.
88. Frank F. Latta, "San Joaquin Primeval Archaeology," *Tulare Times*, 1931.
89. Frank F. Latta, *El Camino Viejo á Los Angeles*, 4 (Bakersfield, 1936).
90. Arthur B. Perkins, "Rancho San Francisco: A Study of a California Land Grant," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXIX:107 (June, 1957).
91. Thomas J. Conaty in *The Tidings*, December 24, 1909.

In Memoriam

FRANCIS PELOUBET FARQUHAR, a member of the California Historical Society for more than fifty years, died on November 20, 1974, at the age of eighty-eight. Born in Massachusetts, educated at Harvard, and a certified public accountant by profession, he devoted himself to a variety of interests after coming to California. He was a respected authority on the Sierra Nevada, a vigorous mountaineer, and an active participant in the American Alpine Club, the California Alpine Club, the Sierra Club, Save-the-Redwoods League, Bohemian Club, and the California Society of CPAs. His support of the California Academy of Sciences helped ensure the establishment of the Planetarium, and he was named by the Academy in 1960 as the first honorary trustee. His distinguished editorship of the Sierra Club *Bulletin* extended for a period of twenty years.

Among his published works are *History of the Sierra Nevada*; a bibliography, *Yosemite, the Big Trees and the High Sierra*; *Mount Olympus Revisited*; and *Flight to the North Pole*. He edited *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*; *The Journal of William Brewer* and Clarence King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, and he wrote sections on Yosemite, the Sierra Nevada, and the Sequoia for *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Once while in Seattle to do an excess profit return and finding himself unable to sleep, he concocted the *Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts* to be offered for sale by the "Caveat Bookshop." The booklet was printed by Grabhorn Press, and to Mr. Farquhar's delight some of the items listed were "ordered" by New York book dealers.

As a mountain climber credited with two first ascents—and also as the first American to climb Mount Olympus—he was on intimate terms with the regions he wrote about; his library on mountaineering, given to UCLA, is one of the world's most complete. The honorary degree presented him by the University of California in 1967 declared that he "shamelessly led a double life as a successful CPA and historian of the Sierras."

He served on the state commission to designate historical landmarks from 1930 to 1950, when he resigned to accept an appointment to the California State Board of Accountancy. He later donated his papers concerning the commission's work to the CHS Manuscript Library.

Mr. Farquhar's affiliation with the California Historical Society began shortly after its 1922 reactivation, and as a member of the Publications Committee from those early days, he helped nurture the *Quarterly*, which he felt has continued to stand up as a fine contribution to California history. Apart from the usual editorial duties and the writing of occasional obituaries and book reviews, he wrote several important articles, including "Exploration of the Sierra Nevada" (1925), "Camels in the Sketches of Edward Vischer" (1930), and "Drake in California: A Review of the Evidence" (1957). As a speaker at the Society's luncheon meetings, he discoursed on Josiah Whitney and Lieutenant George H. Derby. CHS named him a Fellow of the Society in 1962 and honored him in 1966 with the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award for his *History of the Sierra Nevada*.

In addition to twenty-eight years' service to the CHS editorial advisory committee, he was on the Board of Trustees, and as its President in 1960-1961, he welcomed the 3,000th member into the Society. It pleased him in the last year of his life that CHS had flourished to the extent of doubling its membership in fifteen years.

CAROLYN MCGOVERN, honorary CHS archivist and assistant to manuscripts, interviewed Mr. Farquhar shortly before his death for the CHS archives' oral history project.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

History on Tape: The Regional Oral History Office at The Bancroft Library

WILLA K. BAUM, *head of the Regional Oral History Office at the University of California, Berkeley.*

For over a century oral history has been an intrinsic part of The Bancroft Library's extensive collection of manuscripts, books, and newspapers on the West. In the early 1870's Hubert Howe Bancroft, the library's founder, recognized that much of the information he was seeking to collect on the settlement of the West had not been recorded and never would be, although it still existed in the memories of living persons. So, armed with letters of introduction, Bancroft himself, his agents, and sometimes his wife and daughter fanned out over the West from Alaska to Mexico, taking down the reminiscences of the participants in the westward movement. These Dictations, used by Bancroft and his co-authors in the writing of his thirty-nine volume *Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, have been and continue to be prime sources for researchers studying the history of the West.

Acknowledging the importance of this material, historian Henry Raup Wagner, writing about The Bancroft Library in 1942, declared:

The great value of the library today consists not in the collection of books but in the wealth of manuscript and printed material which Mr. Bancroft obtained from the old California grandees, and the personal reminiscences of the pioneers which were dictated to some of his agents.

The completion of Bancroft's *Works* in the 1880's ended the first phase of collecting oral history at The Bancroft Library. It was not resumed again until 1953, following the invention of the tape recorder and the subsequent establishment in 1948 of Columbia University's oral history program. Historian Allan Nevins conceived that program, he explained, for the purpose of obtaining "from the lips and papers of living Americans who have led significant lives a fuller record of their participation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the last sixty years."

A cautious re-entry into oral history was initiated by the Manuscript Division of The Bancroft Library in 1953 with a tape-recorded interview with Alice B. Toklas which was intended to enhance the usability of the library's collection of Gertrude Stein papers. The success of that venture in manuscript supplementation, along with the university administration's interest in documenting its own history for its approaching centennial, led to the creation of a separately funded oral history program in 1954. As understood

by the Regents, the program was designed to tape-record "persons who had contributed significantly to the development of the West." Since that date the Regional Oral History Office (ROHO) has completed 272 interviews totaling 42,665 transcript pages. (An interview varies from one to thirty recording sessions.)

In keeping with the Regents' assignment, the majority of the interviews have been with leading figures or well-placed witnesses to major events or trends in the history of Northern California, the West, or the nation. A few interviews are undertaken as single memoirs, but most are undertaken as a series of related memoirs in fields including forestry and conservation, fine printing, University of California history, agriculture and water resources, California-Russian emigrés, politics, and business. Subject fields and persons for interview are recommended and approved by the faculty and, because all interviews require special outside financing, by the availability of funds. In preparing for the interview, the interviewer investigates the subject, obtains background material on each interviewee, and prepares and goes over outlines with the interviewee. The interviews, informal conversations, usually take place in the home or office of the interviewee. The resulting manuscripts, often with supporting papers, photographs, and other historical materials, are deposited in The Bancroft Library. A copy also is sent to the library at the University of California at Los Angeles in accordance with its exchange program.

Interviewees have the option of closing their interviews for a specified period of time or otherwise restricting their use, but most choose to open them for research or to close only a few sensitive pages. Transcripts may be quoted for publication with the permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library (who first gains approval from the interviewee). Copies of the transcripts are available to other manuscript libraries at the cost of reproduction, again, with the interviewee's permission. To date, 1005 transcripts have been deposited in 155 other libraries in the United States and abroad.

While there is no printed catalogue for the ROHO collection (a patron has not yet been found to fund this worthy project), lists of interviews dealing with special topics

The late Louis M. Martini participated in ROHO'S California Wine Industry project, a series of oral history memoirs by twenty-four important winemen.
Photo by Catherine Harroun, 1972.



are available at the Heller Reading Room. The reading room also houses a partial collection of catalogues from other oral history offices across the country and a manual on producing oral history tapes.

Because the limitations of the ROHO staff and budget make it impossible to investigate all the significant topics and persons in northern California, let alone the West, a Donated Tapes Collection has been established to encourage researchers and history buffs to do their own recording and to donate the tapes for preservation and use in The Bancroft Library. A significant body of information has been preserved in this manner, although it is in the less convenient form of untranscribed tapes. These tapes may be found under subject and interviewee headings in the Motion Picture-Sound Recordings catalogue. Examples of donated tapes are interviews with Japanese Americans about World War II relocation camps, conducted by Anne Loftis and Audrie Girder in preparation for their book, *The Great Betrayal*; interviews with descendents of Gold Rush Jews, conducted by Robert E. Levinson, a professor at San Jose State University; interviews with radical agricultural-worker leaders, conducted by San Francisco State University student George Ewart; and one hundred interviews with Asian Americans involved in theater, film, and writing, conducted by the Combined Asian Resources Project, a group of student-actor writers directed by Frank Chinn.

Because ROHO interviews are planned to meet the research needs of a broad spectrum of present and future users, the office welcomes the critical use of its completed transcripts, comments on the interviews, and recommendations for future interview series (with recommendations for funding). Frequently researchers' questions can be included in interviews that are still in the recording stage. In process are series on the Earl Warren Era in California (1925-1953), the California wine industry, architect Julia Morgan and Bay Area architecture, the Levi Strauss Company, woman suffragists, California women political leaders (1920-1960), University of California history, Sierra Club history, San Francisco Bay maritime history, the arts and the community, and many single memoirs.



Reflections by Scholars on the Uses of Oral History

Countless scholars in diverse fields make use of the growing Regional Oral History Office collections. Kathryn Anderson, assistant professor at Fairhaven College, Bellingham, Washington, studied taped interviews and transcripts with early twentieth-century woman suffrage activists. Mary Ellen Leary, free-lance writer and journalist living in Piedmont, utilized the ROHO interview with the eminent University of California at Berkeley economist, Paul Taylor, to supplement her own interviews in preparation of an article for The Nation magazine. Following are the two writers' reflections on the information and insights characteristically revealed in oral history interviews.

The use of tape and video recorders has transformed the ancient practice of preserving history orally through legend, myth, and song into a new art of recording and, in part, creating primary information. This new oral history shares more attributes with printed history than its predecessor, especially in its immunity to change through retelling. Most researchers will gain access to oral history through printed transcripts with the exception of rhetoricians interested in oral delivery styles and linguists concerned with regional dialects and speech pathologies. Yet even though transcripts may be edited extensively, they retain unique characteristics of oral style. These include freedom from the organizational constraints of written forms and spontaneity enriched by constant interaction with another person. Oral records, by heightening the reflectiveness of traditional autobiography, provide valuable material for research in the human sciences.

My current interest is to understand the climate of consciousness within which several women, most of them national suffrage workers, worked for Anne Martin's campaign for the United States Senate in Nevada in 1918 and 1920. This research fits into the broader question of the consciousness with which women devoted their energies to reform and revolution in the early twentieth century. Although I have relied most heavily on correspondence, materials from the Regional Oral History Office in Berkeley have illuminated my search intensively.

The interviews are useful to me as complements to correspondence and other materials, especially when they clarify, amplify, or even contradict information from other



Sara Bard Field Wood spoke with one of the most eloquent voices in the woman suffrage movement. This photo was taken on her 1915 speaking tour which began in San Francisco with a donated car and ended 5,000 miles later at the White House with an 18,000-foot petition. Details of the harrowing three-month trip are recounted in her oral history memoir which is one of twelve interviews in the Suffragists Series.

sources. For example, suffragist-poet-writer Sara Bard Field's interview reveals some specific incidents related to her developing consciousness and provides unusually perceptive accounts of her subjective experience in suffrage and other reform work. The interview with Alice Paul, founder of the Woman's Party and life-long proponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, now in her nineties, includes much more of her personal views on woman's nature and suffrage movement aims than is inferable from her straightforward, formal correspondence. That she cites activist Rose Winslow's working class background to illustrate the variety of Woman's Party support while omitting Winslow's expressed feelings of discrimination as a working woman is suggestive of Paul's personal biases. Interviews with Alice Paul and Mabel Vernon, also active in, among other things, the Woman's Party, provide new information about Anne Martin's position among National Woman's Party leaders and allude more explicitly than their correspondence to tensions resulting from Martin's decision to run for the U.S. Senate before the Nineteenth Amendment was passed and ratified. Vernon also discusses the effect of her relationship with Martin on her choice of activities after suffrage. Several interviews give a fresh view of tactical and organizational choices—such as speaking on street corners and involving local leaders—in relationship to overall suffrage strategies. Of added interest to women's history is the way in which these interview situations occasionally capture a dynamic between two moments in the history of American feminism, such as the early twentieth-century feminism of the interviewee and the contemporary feminism of the interviewer.

The ROHO interviews with prominent suffragists and other reformers are in-depth explorations into events, explanations of behavior, and perceptions of persons and situations. Their thoroughness reflects informed planning and should deflate the nagging fear interviewers must have of unasked questions. Transcripts are edited carefully for accuracy and readability, but the researcher has access to the entire interview, including the interviewer's remarks. Although this form may produce more discontinuity and repetition than the written narrative form, it has many advantages for research in that one can assess the interviewer's impact on responses.

As reference materials, oral histories may suffer from inaccuracies of memory and distortions of perspective over time. Problems are minimized when the interviewer, the interviewee and, especially, the researcher, approach the materials with solid preparation. The time lapse also has its benefits. Information which might have been damaging at the time to individuals or causes, therefore unmentionable for reasons of diplomacy or public relations, can be related more candidly after years have passed.

A more fundamental, and unresolved, problem exists regarding the nature of oral history and its application. Oral history by definition focuses on the individual, and it has been used selectively to record memories of extraordinary persons. Yet as a form, it is particularly appropriate for capturing the experience of more ordinary persons who often lack the means, skills, and expectations necessary for recording their histories themselves. Studs Terkel departed from the "central figure" approach, with some success, in his published interviews with depression victims and a cross-section of workers. Staughton Lynd's oral history project involving Indiana steel workers and a few less-renowned local projects are paving the way for more systematic inclusion of masses of workers, minorities, and women in historical records. Regrettably, using oral history as a vehicle for articulating the experiences and concerns of the inarticulate is not the dominant trend in historical collecting. Archival institutions and their funding sources need to reconsider their priorities so that oral history can become not just a complement to other sources but a singularly important resource for social history.

A writer's pride, one might expect, would keep him out of the attic headquarters of the University of California Regional Oral History Office, that inconspicuous research group tucked under the eaves of the main library on the Berkeley campus. Especially if that writer were at work on a subject alive and well and quite willing to be interviewed, he might think he had no need of the vast interview material on California subjects which have been collected and systematized by these "oral historians." But curiosity can overcome pride.

Last summer, when I was developing for *The Nation* magazine my article about Paul Taylor, that delightfully independent-minded agricultural economist who champions the small farm, I took to walking from his office on the Berkeley campus over to ROHO, to dip into their recently bound set of interviews with the same man.

After years of hearing about oral history, I decided to test its yield against my own interview perceptions. I began out of sheer curiosity. The enthusiasm of these scholars about their work is tempting. But I returned often. The aid this material provided astonished me.

Anyone who has interviewed at length has experienced the problem of forward pace



Professor Paul S. Taylor and ROHO-interviewer Malca Chall reviewed his papers in preparation for his oral history memoir. The three-volume memoir deals with his involvement with migrant labor, federal and state reclamation policies, community development projects abroad, and his collaboration with his wife, documentary photographer Dorothea Lange, on American Exodus: A Study in Human Erosion (1939). Photo by Catherine Harroun, 1973.

versus detailed accuracy. The subject has warmed up to one line of thought. He is talking easily. There emerges some particularly revealing recollection or, at long last, just the concept pertinent to the shape of your own work. The stumble comes when you realize you will not have time to re-walk this pathway again, so you must interrupt: how do you spell that name? can you be specific on that date?

Not all interviewees have the phenomenal memory which Dr. Taylor enjoys. But even he could be deflected by a question. It would turn him to his library, to pull out some old volume aflutter with research notes, in pursuit of an exact quotation. Our line of inquiry would hang in the air unfinished and disintegrating. A new dimension of freedom in these interviews developed when I discovered that the necessary specifics marched in orderly sequence through the work of ROHO's Suzanne Riess and Malca Chall, in their carefully prepared interview reports. They had earlier talked with Dr. Taylor in great detail, Ms. Riess on his early life and migrant farm-worker research when he traveled the country over with his photographer-wife, Dorothea Lange, Ms. Chall on the reclamation law and 160-acre limitation.

This does not mean that ROHO's work substitutes for your own. It can't. These free-flowing interviews, rich because they permit digressions, present a wide landscape. Your own path must have its separate structure. But this oral history gives a tone, a personal flavor, and an orientation which immensely lightens the writer's task. Of course the interviews and transcripts are particularly valuable in those cases where personal interviews are no longer possible. More and more scholars are discovering this growing collection of biographical material, recollections, and individual viewpoints from Californians who have been major factors in the life of the state the past half-century. It is my hope journalists will learn of it, too.

What oral history provides is a human link to history so lively and so pertinent to today as to be particularly comprehensible to journalists. Our California journalism could do with some dipping into history.

MARY ELLEN LEARY

Earl Warren at the 1948 Republican Convention: A Portion of the Transcript

Nearing completion at ROHO is an ambitious series of interviews entitled the Earl Warren Era in California, 1925-1953, which will consist of approximately 145 interviews and fifty volumes of transcripts. Interviewees have been selected on the basis of biographical familiarity with Warren, knowledge about governmental processes and issues, and importance as political figures and "movers" in a wide political spectrum.

The following excerpt is from an interview with Merrill F. Small, who served briefly as travel secretary to Governor Warren and then as departmental secretary until 1953. The interview was conducted by ROHO's Amelia Fry in a series of sessions in 1970-71. The subject of the transcript is the 1948 Republican nominating convention held in Chicago. Following Warren's loss of the presidential nomination to Thomas E. Dewey, discussed in the portion below, Warren was selected by the convention as Republican vice-presidential candidate.

Small: Well, we go to Thursday night, when they finally get around to balloting. First they have the rigamarole of speeches, resolutions, and stuff that they have got to go through, and then they get down to business, Thursday morning or Thursday afternoon—first ballot. Dewey was very strong on the first ballot, Taft was very strong. Warren was also-ran,

then there were a few scattered votes. Then there was a second ballot. Dewey was within something like 28 votes of going over on the second ballot.

And everybody, including us—we were watching it on television—expected that it would go immediately to a third vote, and the steam-roller would be on and there would be the end of it. But, this was probably a shrewd thing that his managers did—no, they moved to recess for dinner: give the poor opposition a chance to reform their lines, and so on, you know—this was a magnanimous gesture, Dewey was going to give them some time—a reprieve. So they recessed at six o'clock and went out to dinner with the agreement to come back at eight and they finally got going at 9:30—got the convention going again.

At this point, Bill Knowland, who was chairman of Warren's delegation, came to the suite with Kyle Palmer and Scoggins.

Fry: Who was chairman?

Small: Senator Knowland—William Fife Knowland, U.S. Senator—he was chairman of the delegation on the floor. And Warren wrote out, and I hope this document exists because this is historical in California: he wrote out in his own handwriting a statement releasing his delegation to Dewey, and said to Knowland—I think I was present when this happened—to get there first, and get up on that rostrum, and release California to Dewey—this would put us in a beautiful bargaining position; we'll put him over, we'll nominate him, the rest of them will be just also-rans.

Warren and I settled down before the television set before eight o'clock, because it was supposed to be at eight. We watched—the delegates were beginning to come into the auditorium, and there was all this milling around and confusion and stuff. I mixed a big double scotch and water for myself as well as him. And we sat there watching the thing. And then towards 9 o'clock, the California delegation went into the famous huddle—they compared it to a football huddle, and the camera was trained on it, and we watched it: Knowland in the middle and all the delegates who'd arrived there—most of them were there by this time—leaning over and listening to him as he read this statement the governor had written for him. This was the first they knew that they were being released, although, of course, they could figure it out, many of them, but you could see Margy Benedict crying, and you could see one of the men going like this as if he were cussing his lungs out, you know.

Fry: That's always a painful time.

Small: We watched this whole thing. And then they called the convention to order about 9:30, and by this time the auditorium floor was just jammed with people, and the television camera trained on Bill Knowland, fighting his way to the platform. He should have gotten there long before they called the convention to order—he should have been up there. They watched him, literally, just trying to shove his way through! Then they trained it on John Bricker, and this became a marathon.

Fry: A race!

Small: A footrace, and Bricker got up there first and released Ohio, Taft's delegation, to Dewey and it was all over by then! And Knowland had become an also-ran, and a second-guesser, and unimportant, and California just didn't have the bargaining position that Warren wanted them to have. And Dewey was nominated—unanimously, at that point.

The third ballot: Dewey was nominated, and we were sitting there in our shirt-sleeves with our double scotch in our hand. We were watching television, and there goes the presidency, maybe his last chance, to Dewey. Warren raised his glass and said, "Well, that's that!" That was his comment, he did nothing further. Just, "you can't win 'em all."

Book Reviews

THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SHORT HISTORY OF AN URBAN OASIS. By Gerald D. Nash. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973. viii, 312 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper.)

Reviewed by MOSES RISCHIN, *professor of history at San Francisco State University.*

Gerald Nash has written an essential beginning survey-volume that, he modestly notes, "might serve much as a road map does in charting terrain that, although not wholly unfamiliar, is in many respects still largely untraversed." This first book on the twentieth-century American West by a professional historian and leading scholar of economic policy and development and of the trans-Mississippi West reflects the wide reading of a synthesizer devoted to every phase of his subject. As historian, teacher, and engaged observer and traveller, Nash has personally experienced in his most impressionable years the climax of the "westward tilt" of the post-World War Two era, the vantage point from which he derives his special perspective. From urban oases at Berkeley, Palo Alto, and more recently from the near mile-high mountain peak at Albuquerque, Nash has attempted in this book to take the measure of half a continent, not including Alaska and Hawaii, that accounts for well over two-thirds of the land area of the United States and, in the 1970's, over one-third of its population. Unlike many doubting native sons, Nash is emphatically certain that there is a twentieth-century West, indeed that it has become "America's barometer." Bounded by California and the Pacific Northwest on the ocean side and by the West North Central and West South Central states to the east, with the Mountain and Southwest states at the center, the twentieth-century West is seen as an integrated region. Yet, in the Nash synthesis, the geography of the twentieth-century West appears incidental. Indeed, the absence even of a single map in this book almost seems calculated to illustrate the irrelevance of place or region in any conventional sense. Nash's West is an endless horizon and natural setting, not a physical frontier. It is defined primarily by the high sophistication of its business organization, the lightness, precision, and high speed of its post-industrial technological culture, and the patterned mobility of its post-urban society. It is a phenomenon of the space age rather than of the wide open spaces, a post-Turnerian electronic region of instant communication, affluence, leisure, and the pleasures and pathologies of self-worship.

Clearly, this book is intended to arouse the concerned "westerner," particularly the Californian, to the contrasts between historic realities and popular illusions. It deserves a wide readership.

But many a historian and layman will dispute the validity of a West so distended and so elusive as this one, so devoid of the many private worlds of pre-World War Two "colonials," so divorced from a lingering sense of cultural and social complexity that San Francisco's "Sunny Jim" Rolph of the Mission is curiously identified as "a member of the 'Iowa Migration'!"

Like Earl Pomeroy's *The Pacific Slope*, Nash's volume is likely to be a point of departure for a rash of books to come. When a second edition appears, the publisher hopefully will not discourage the author from including population-density maps, migration, health, and social statistics tables, and graphs that will more amply illustrate the trends that Nash has sketched as well as the comparisons that stir a hunger for more.

REDWOODS AND REMINISCENCES. By Joseph D. Grant. (San Francisco: Save-the-Redwoods League and the Menninger Foundation, 1973. 230 pp. Illustrations. Index. n.p.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, editor of *Journal of Forest History*, Santa Cruz.

Born in San Francisco in the tumultuous decade following the Gold Rush, Joseph Donahoe Grant, son of a prosperous Scot merchant, was one of that breed of hard-driving capitalists who helped generate a prosperous industrial base in early nineteenth-century California. *Redwoods and Reminiscences* is an autobiographical account of Grant's education, travels, business dealings, interests, and myriad personal friendships and acquaintances. Anecdotal and informal in style, Grant's narrative touches upon the events and people of his life and times with a romantic sentimentalism perhaps characteristic of the generous hindsight of the successful businessman of his time.

Although his primary financial interests and business obligations were tied to the development of hydroelectric power, oil, and steel production, Grant was appointed a life trustee of Stanford University at age thirty-three. In 1917 his interest in conservation was aroused through involvement with the Save-the-Redwoods League and its founders, Madison Grant, John C. Merriam, and Henry F. Osborn. It is for Joseph Grant's works in saving the redwoods, suggests Herman Phleger in the introduction, that he will be remembered.

Merriam, Osborn, Madison Grant, and others are appropriately credited by Joseph Grant for their brilliant and successful efforts to save large tracts of the giant coast redwoods through the Save-the-Redwoods League. Joseph Grant, himself, served first as vice-president, then president, and, finally, chairman of the League for nineteen years. His description of the League's activities is detailed and accurate. Unfortunately, by focusing only on the redwoods situation in California, Grant provides the mistaken impression that the Save-the-Redwoods League and its officers were bellwethers in alerting the nation to its conservation responsibilities beginning in 1917.

In actuality, the rise of a national conservation movement was well underway during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, who set aside 132 million acres of forest and park land during his term of office from 1901 to 1909. Cutover lands in the East and Midwest sparked a public outcry against excessive exploitation of American forests, and eminent national figures such as Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, warned against a possible timber famine. The activities of the Save-the-Redwoods League should be seen in the context of an already alerted and aroused national movement for conservation of American forests.

Underlying Grant's particular pride in the accomplishments of the Save-the-Redwoods League was the fact that large donations from private individuals were used to purchase redwood tracts at "just compensation" arrived at through "friendly negotiation" with private owners, creating minimal interference with the redwood lumber industry. In a letter to Madison Grant in December, 1921, Joseph Grant vigorously opposed federal assistance on the grounds that the "right to tax" involved "the right to destroy," and to encourage the use of federal tax money to purchase redwood lands would be tantamount to assisting the federal government in destroying private industry and initiative. In the context of this unrelenting faith in private enterprise and initiative, Grant acknowledged but refused to criticize lumbermen who were more interested in logging redwoods for profit than "friendly negotiation" with the Save-the-Redwoods League. On the other hand, Grant graciously acknowledged financial assistance from the State of California in acquiring redwood lands; perhaps state aid, in his view, was less destructive than federal aid.

It would be unrealistic to expect the memoir of a successful businessman, looking

back on a full career, to raise those objective and insightful questions of such interest to the professional historian. Grant's narrative will provide little information that the California historian or the conservation historian does not already know, except for the particular arrangement of detail unique to Grant's personal vision, which is certainly important. The editing of Lois C. Stone is delightfully inconspicuous, a sign of skill. The design and printing by Alfred and Lawton Kennedy are consistent with their usual high standards.

UNWANTED MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION: REPATRIATION PRESSURES, 1929-1939. By Abraham Hoffman. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. xi, 207 pp. Illustrations. \$9.75 cloth, \$4.75 paper.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *editor of the Reviews section of the Quarterly.*

There have been three large-scale forced migrations of minority-group members in California history. Two of them, the removal of Indians from their homelands in the 1850's and 1860's and the "relocation" of people of Japanese descent during the 1940's, have received a good deal of scholarly attention. The third, the repatriation to Mexico of thousands of Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the 1930's, has been largely ignored (except by two contemporaries of the event, Carey McWilliams and Robert McLean). Thus, Abraham Hoffman's book is a welcome contribution to the study of both the Chicano experience and the general social and ethnic structure of California.

Hoffman claims that about 500,000 people of Mexican descent left the United States for Mexico during the thirties. In the previous decade, California and the rest of the Southwest suffered a labor shortage, and Mexican immigration was generally encouraged, but the Depression caused a labor surplus, high unemployment, and heavy public-relief payments. Mexican labor was not needed, and unemployed Mexicans had to be fed by tax dollars; therefore, repatriation became the name of the game. Many of the *repatriados* left voluntarily, some attracted by return-to-Mexico campaigns of the Mexican government, but thousands were forced out by actions of official agencies north of the border. Federal authorities engaged in *ex post facto* enforcement of immigration laws and local officials threatened to cut off relief payments to immigrants who refused offers of free transportation to Mexico.

Hoffman concentrates his study on Los Angeles County and in the process may ignore important developments in other parts of the country. But the Los Angeles area does provide a valid case-study, since it had the largest concentration of Mexican population outside of Mexico City, and, at least before 1933, it was the scene of intense repatriation efforts by both federal and local authorities. Hoffman wisely includes a discussion of Mexican immigration and labor utilization in the United States before the 1930's, and he probably does as well as anyone can in making his way through the maze of conflicting statistics on repatriation itself. One of the book's greatest strengths is its coverage of the Mexican side of the repatriation issue, for unlike some recent writers, Hoffman realizes that Mexican American history is never isolated from events in Mexico.

The book's greatest fault is the lack of a comprehensive conclusion, one which links the repatriation of the thirties with the Bracero program of the forties and fifties and the post-war and contemporary controversies over "wetbacks" and "greencarders." But Hoffman's work is still a valuable scholarly contribution. Along with Walter Stein's recent *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (see review in the Fall, 1973 *Quarterly*), it gives us new insight into the class and ethnic conflicts of Depression California.

THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SAN MATEO COUNTY: THE REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A VOLUME ENTITLED . . . PUBLISHED IN 1878 BY MOORE AND DePUE. (Woodside, Gilbert Richards Publications, 1974. 109 pp. Illustrations. \$24.00.)

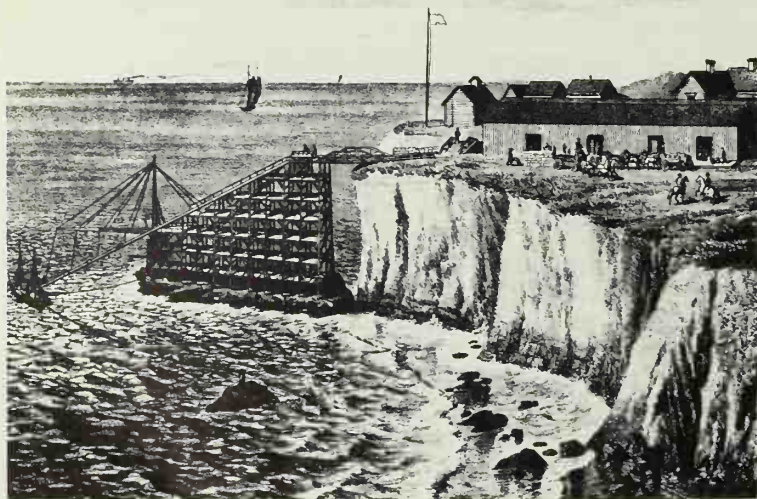
Reviewed by JAY WILLIAR, CHS Reference Librarian.

In California history literature, some of the most interesting, probably the most used, and undoubtedly the most charming items, are the county histories that were published in the 1870's and 1880's. Over the years these books have stood their ground and are still heavily used in local history studies.

The most recent reprint of this genre is Gilbert Richard's reduced facsimile of Moore and DePue's *The Illustrated History of San Mateo County . . .*, originally published in 1878. Mr. Richards has written an informative introduction to this edition which speculates on the origins of the volume. Also included are contemporary drawings and old maps pinpointing locations or former locations of some of the diverse properties illustrated.

Although the overall size of the volume has been reduced by roughly one third, the lithographs (originally done by Grafton T. Brown and Britton and Rey, well-known local nineteenth-century lithographers) are reduced only slightly, and, indeed, in several instances are larger than the originals.

By the 1870's the discovery of the process of lithography (in which grease crayon is applied to stone to produce a rapidly rendered, simple printing plate) permitted the mass production of inexpensive illustrated material, including county and city histories. The prosperous A. Gordon owned a ranch along the coast at San Gregorio where he operated "Gordon's Chute" (below) and wharf. Another San Mateo resident, Wm. Metzgar, resided at "Spanishtown" Half Moon Bay where he pruned trees and shrubs to produce this unusual botanical display (right).

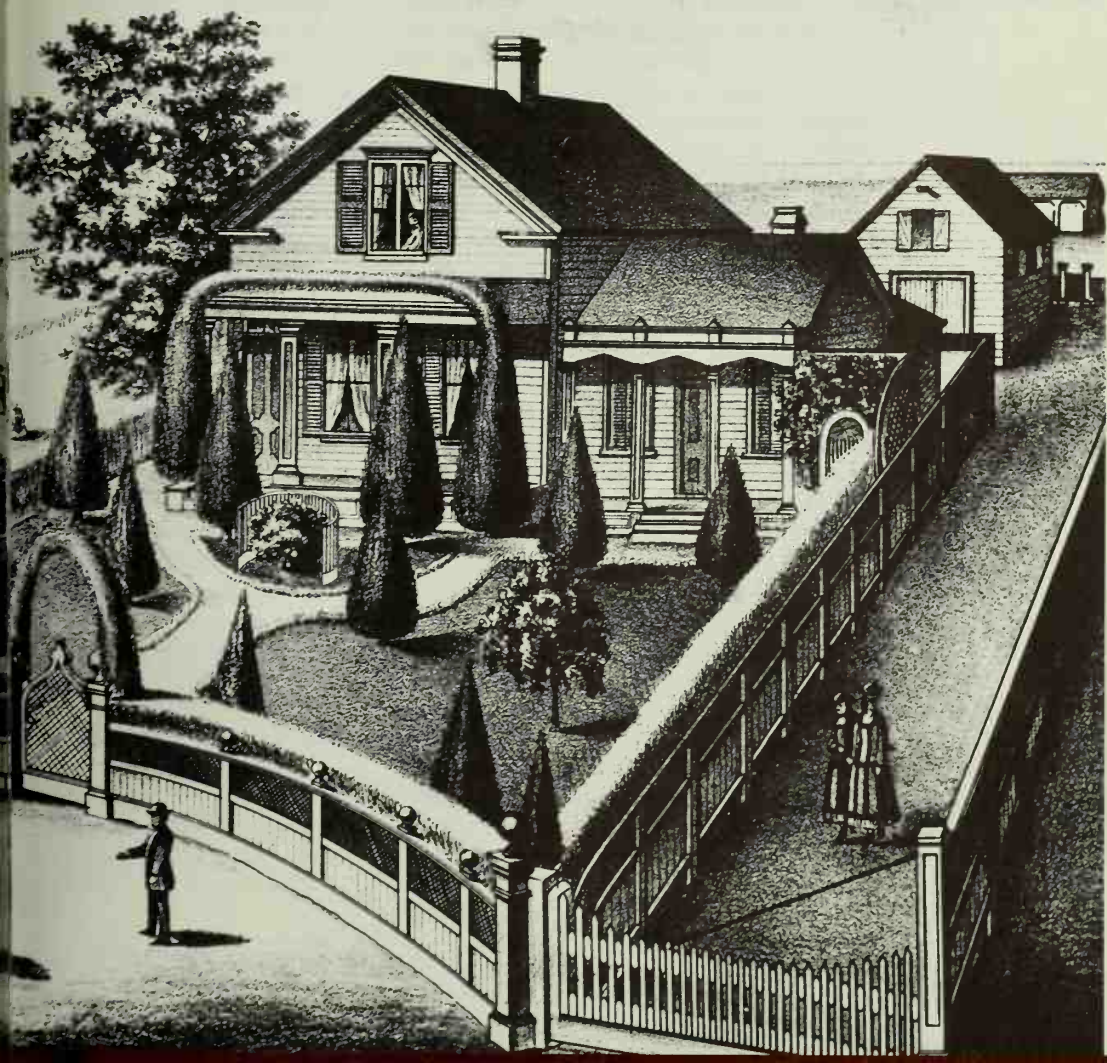


WE THREE CAME WEST: A TRUE CHRONICLE. Edited by Helen Raitt and Mary Collier Wayne. (San Diego: Tofua Press, 1974. xix, 250 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.).

Reviewed by ANDREW ROLLE, *Robert Glass Cleland Professor of History at Occidental College, Los Angeles.*

"Wynyate" is a wooden Victorian house that still stands on a hilltop in South Pasadena. Built in 1887 during the great Los Angeles County real estate boom, the place became the very center of life for Donald and Margaret Collier Graham, whose letters and memorabilia were discovered there only a few years ago. In a chatty way, the editors have done a skillful job of organizing and presenting their family's old letters which form the basis of this book.

Many of the letters unearthed by the editors possess the quality of a diary. The letter writers were alert young people, full of enthusiasm for the California to which they had come after graduating from Monmouth College in Illinois with the class of 1869. What emerges is a series of semi-literary memoirs, not intended for posterity. There is a vitality inherent in such diaries and letters that is almost impossible for later writers of secondary accounts to reproduce. First-person narratives can go beyond routine and perfunctory matters. Sprightly letters help readers to relive the times in which they were written.



The letters also remind us that in 1876—the Centennial year—Los Angeles was still a town of only some 13,000 inhabitants. Along with descriptions of land values (considered inflated at \$75 an acre) are documents regarding a Spanish land grant, Civil War reminiscences, love letters written before marriage, a plea for women's suffrage, and records of expenses for wood, milk, and shelters for the family horses.

The young persons who wrote these letters cultivated a circle of literary friends who visited "Wynyate." Among these were John Muir (who planted a eucalyptus tree on the grounds), California's poet laureate Ina Coolbrith, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and T. S. Van Dyke. Margaret Graham was herself the author of four books written in later years between 1895 and 1912.

In short, the editors have shown what can be done by splicing together memorabilia long forgotten in family attics. Excellent photographs help to recapture the times described. The book lacks an index.

THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848. By K. Jack Bauer. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974. iii, 454 pp. Photos, maps. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by COL. WILLIAM F. STROBRIDGE, *author of several articles on the Army in California.*

K. Jack Bauer's *The Mexican War, 1846-1848* describes from an American view the galaxy of events that led to a conflict with Mexico, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and, incidentally, the acquisition of Alta California. Bauer believes it is time for a new interpretation of occurrences previously well described in 1910 by Justin Smith's two volume account of the Mexican War. He proceeds to paint a wide sweep of battle and diplomacy, orchestrated in Washington by President Polk but often misinterpreted in the field by American officials and the Mexican government. Zack Taylor's Army of Observation went to Corpus Christie when, by Bauer's account, most reports reaching the United States capital were wrong on Mexican desires to negotiate. Killing started with Mexican ambushes of scouting parties from Taylor's force, a span of activity in his narrative that the author compares with the undeclared war in Viet Nam.

Bauer agrees with Justin Smith that hostilities with Mexico were unavoidable and that the United States never understood Mexican nationalism. He sets forth a picture of a Congress failing to allot travel funds with which volunteers could journey to federal rendezvous points and of ill-disciplined, anti-Catholic men from state regiments invading northern Mexico in 1846. Santa Anna gambled and lost in northern Mexico. Thereafter American military efforts to force Mexican peace negotiations shifted south.

At Vera Cruz Winfield Scott, whose likeness stares from the Presidio Museum's wall, cut loose from the Gulf and advanced to Mexico City. The "Star Spangled Banner" was played by Navy bands at the Vera Cruz landing. On the beaches, the Army launched rockets against Mexican defenders. Bauer parallels Scott's audacious march to the Mexican capital with MacArthur at Inchon a century later.

The author states that in 1846-47, as in 1966-68, Americans were ready for a quick war, yet abhorred a long war. In Mexico, American envoy Trist ignored Polk's recall instructions. Instead, he remained on the spot and negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, awarding Mexican territory to the United States which, Bauer says, only heightened sectional conflict within both countries.

California history buffs may be disappointed by the twenty-seven pages devoted to Alta California operations plus eight pages on the campaign in Baja California. Some

will question the author's description of Gillespie hastening after Frémont in 1846, when in an earlier publication Mrs. Ord records Larkin giving a ball at Monterey in honor of the mysterious Marine officer. No mention is made by Bauer of Frémont shooting out of hand three rancheros that his party near Suisun Bay mistook for Castro's men.

Another item of local interest unclarified in the pages of *The Mexican War* is the intelligence value of Larkin's reports to Secretary of State Buchanan. Larkin's descriptive despatches from Monterey are of great value to historians. Still, he lacked an organized communications system, and most of the reports from Larkin to the State Department were an untimely three months to a year in transit.

The Mexican War supplies readers with a good overview of 1846-48 and, along with Robert Utley's books in the same series which deal with the Army on the frontier, furnishes solid background for more specialized reading. Bauer provides notes at the end of each chapter plus a thirty-eight-page bibliography.

THE HARDROCK MINERS: A HISTORY OF THE MINING LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE AMERICAN WEST, 1863-1893. By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974. viii, 292 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by HYMAN WEINTRAUB, *professor of history at East Los Angeles College.*

Hardrock miners are not a new musical group. They are the men who toiled underground in over hundred-degree heat to mine gold and silver. In a delightful opening chapter, the author describes the life of the hardrock miner who works long hours under hazardous conditions for very little pay. He lives in filthy boarding houses—a virtual prisoner of the mining company. There is no doubt from this opening chapter that the author's sympathies are with the exploited miner.

The evidence confirms the author's thesis that unionization of the hardrock miners was the result of the mechanization of mining. Placer mining had required a shovel and a pan. The placer miner toiled long hours with little return for his labor, but he toiled for himself. He was his own master. Quartz mining required expensive machinery, heavy capital investment—and cheap labor. To minimize their exploitation, the men organized unions. When they discovered that reason and compassion did not move the mine owners, they resorted to violence. That violence was not related to the unsettled lawlessness of the frontier West. In fact, the unions were successful in achieving their demands peacefully when there was little law because the miners were the law. In the beginning the sheriff and his deputies were miners, so that the law was the law of the mine workers. As the West became more stable, the law came to represent the vested economic interests. When troops were used to thwart the aspirations of the miners and to promote the interests of the mine owners, the miners responded with violence.

Dr. Lingenfelter has sifted through an enormous volume of material to produce this tightly knit story of the unions which ultimately created the Western Federation of Miners. The story is told with compassion so that "\$4 per day" is not a statistic, but a symbol of man's struggle for dignity. Unfortunately, the book is too short, and the records are too incomplete to bring to life many of the leaders of those early unions. It does, however, bring us the humor and pathos which went into the victories and defeats of the union of hardrock miners.

California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

- Ansel Adams: Images 1923-1974*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974. \$75.00. 128 pp. Photolithographic reproductions.
- Automobile Club of Southern California. *Baja, California: A Guide*. Los Angeles: The Club, [1974]. 132 pp. Illustrations.
- Automobile Club of Southern California. *The Mother Lode*. Los Angeles: The Club, 1974. 63 pp. The Club, Box 2890, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90051.
- Bean, Lowell J., and Thomas E. King, editors. *California Indian Political and Economic Organization*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974. \$5.50. 177 pp. Maps, charts. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Boyarski, Bill and Nancy. *Backroom Politics*. Los Angeles: Tarcher Books, 1974. \$8.95. 330 pp.
- Casebier, Dennis G. *Fort Pah-Ute California*. Norco: Tales of the Mohave Road Publishing Company, [c1974]. \$7.50. 136 pp. Illustrations, maps. Publisher, P.O. Box 307, Norco, CA 91760.
- Cox, Thomas R. *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974. \$17.50. 500 pp. Illustrations.
- Clover, Herman A. *Haytime*. Burlingame: Hesperia Press, 1974. \$5.95. 86 pp. Publisher, Box 1583, Burlingame, CA 94010.
- Crosby, Harry. *The King's Highway in Baja, California*. San Diego: Copley Books, 1974. \$14.50. 190 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 270, San Diego, CA 92112.
- Dickensheer, Dean W., editor. *Great Crimes of San Francisco*. New York: Comstock Editions. 1974. \$1.75.
- Doss, Margot Patterson. *San Francisco at your Feet*. New York: Grove Press [1974]. Reprint, \$2.95. 200 pp. Illustrations.
- Early California [Northern Edition]* and *[Southern Edition]*. Corvallis: Western Gulch Publishers, c1974. \$6.50, each. 76 pp. each. Maps. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 1013, Corvallis, OR 97330.
- Findley, W. H. *The Rodeo and Tales of Pioneer Life in California*. Arroya Grande: Hubbard Printing, 1973. \$3.50. 62 pp. Publisher, 1009 Grand Avenue, Arroya Grande, CA 93420.
- Freudenheim, Leslie Mandelson and Elizabeth and Sacks Sussman. *Building with Nature*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith. 1974. \$12.95. Illustrations.
- Gilbert, Eugene. *Orange County's Past in Pencil*. Santa Ana: First American Title Insurance Company [1974]. \$2.50. Drawings. Publisher, P.O. Box 267, Santa Ana, CA 92702.
- The Gold Mines of California*. New York: Promontory Press, 1974. Reprint of F. Robinson's *California and Its Golden Region*, published in 1849, and, of F. Street's *California in the 1850's*, published in 1851. 137 pp., 88 pp.
- Gunter, Norman. *A Diamond for Moorpark*. Moorpark: Moorpark Chamber of Commerce, 1974. \$15.00. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 296, Moorpark, CA 93021.
- Hansen, Arthur A., and Betty E. Mitson, editors. *Voices Long Silent*. Fullerton: California State University, Fullerton, 1974. \$7.50. Author, Department of History, California

- State University, Fullerton, Fullerton, CA 92634.
- Hedgpeth, Nellie McGraw. *My Early Days in San Francisco*. San Francisco: The Victorian Alliance, c1974. \$3.70. 53 pp. Publisher, 4143 23rd Street, San Francisco, CA 94114.
- The Historical Society of Laguna Beach. *One Hundred Years in Laguna*. [Long Beach: Author, c1974?] \$1.75. 14 pp. Illustrations. Author, P.O. Box 264, Laguna Beach, CA 92652.
- History of Contra Costa County California*. Oakland: Brooks-Sterling Co., 1974. Reprint of 1882 edition published by W. A. Slocum, San Francisco. \$25.00. 710 pp. Illustrations.
- Howard, Donald M. *Archaeology in Paradise*. Carmel: Antiquities Research Publications. c1974. \$2.95. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, CA 93921.
- Howard, Donald. *Lost Adobes of Monterey County*. Carmel: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1973. \$5.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, CA 93921.
- Hunt, Rockwell Dennis. *California in the Making*. Westport: Greenwood Press, [1974, c1953]. Reprint. 325 pp.
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Mounted first on bicycles, Berkeley's police department became the first full motorized force in the country. Photographed in the 1920's, the officers exude a serious calm befitting their newly attained reputation of excellence. Under the innovative leadership of August Vollmer, the department set standards of pioneering professionalism for several decades to come. Berkeley Police Department.

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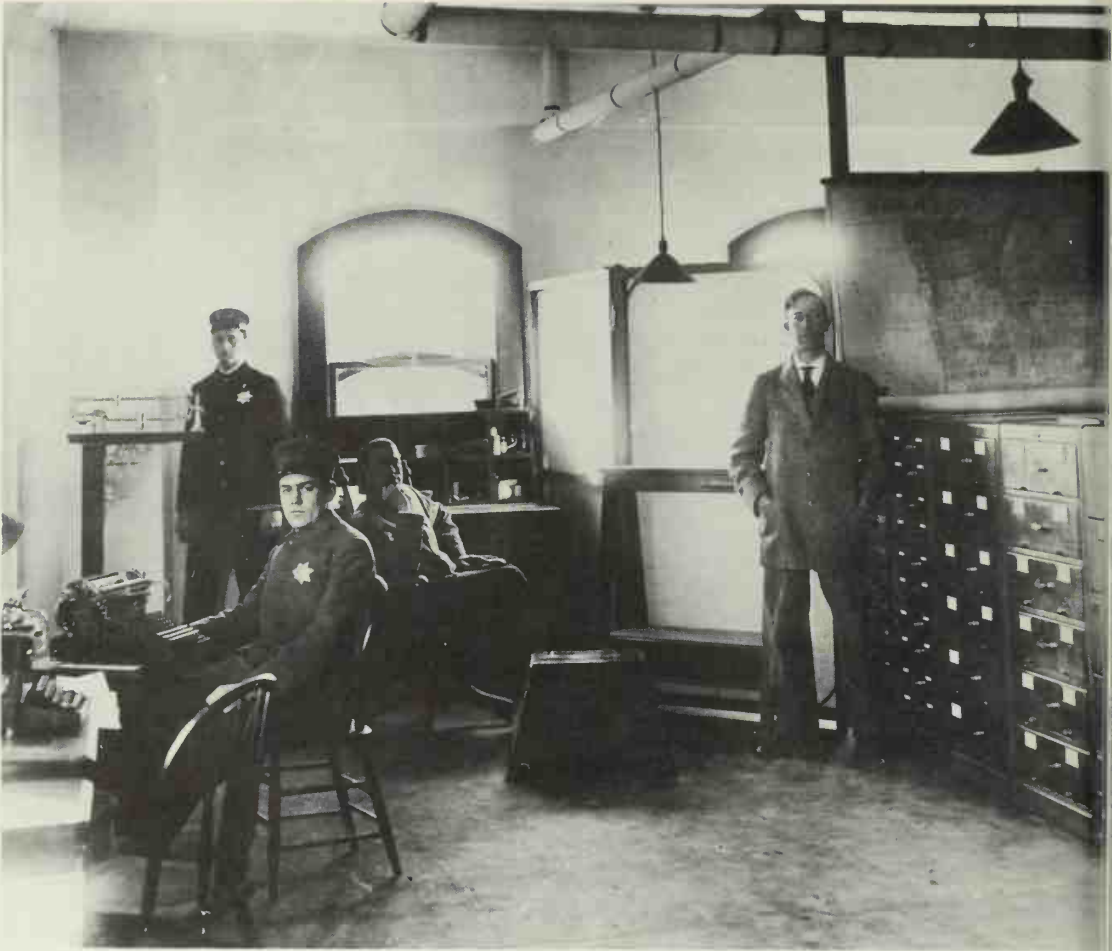
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Soon after the police department gained official quarters in the basement of the new city hall, Vollmer established a system for keeping records on criminals. Vollmer (standing at right) urged that systematic records were essential to scientific criminal investigation and identification.

August Vollmer, Berkeley's First Chief of Police, and the Emergence of Police Professionalism

NATHAN DOUTHIT

*Associate professor of history and instructor in law enforcement
at Southwestern Oregon Community College, Coos Bay*

ALTHOUGH THE HISTORY OF POLICING in the United States has only begun to be written, it is certain that when historians set out to explore the development of police professionalism, one of the most important figures will be the man who served as the head of the police department in Berkeley, California, for over a quarter of a century—August Vollmer. Between 1905 and 1932, Vollmer played a major role in making Berkeley and the state of California leaders in police innovation. He turned the Berkeley police department into a unique model of professionalism known and respected by police officials throughout the country. His career throws light on the aspirations and dilemmas of police professionalism in its formative years.

Vollmer's career also offers an historical perspective from which to consider the dilemmas of policing in our own day. The question of whether "changing the police" is an "impossible dream," a subject recently raised by a well-known police educator, needs historical perspective.¹ Some critics of the police have suggested that the principles and values of police professionalism are at the root of the contemporary problems of policing.² Whether or not this is true, it is worth considering whether police professionalism today is a fulfillment of the aspirations of the early crusaders for police professionalism or a departure from their goals.

August Vollmer's family moved to San Francisco from New Orleans in 1888, then crossed over the bay to take up residence in Berkeley three years later.³ In 1895, at the age of nineteen, Vollmer and a friend opened a coal and feed store. The following year he helped to organize a volunteer fire department for North Berkeley. When war with Spain broke out two years later, Vollmer enlisted in the Army, and he later saw action against the guerrilla forces of Aguinaldo in the Philippines as the United States tried to consolidate its control over the native population after having defeated the Spanish forces.

Vollmer returned from the Philippines with a distinguished combat record which made him something of a hero in the small town of Berkeley.⁴ For four years after his return, he worked as a mail carrier, but his war record, athletic

ability, and leadership qualities had not been forgotten.⁵ In January, 1905, the editor of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* called Vollmer to his office and suggested that he run for election as town marshal. Vollmer argued, but he soon received support from the incumbent mayor, fire chief, and local Republican party. They apparently viewed Vollmer as a man who could clean up vice in Berkeley.

A *Gazette* editorial supporting Vollmer's candidacy proclaimed that "Guss Vollmer is a man of mental acumen and sagacity, and his service in the Army has particularly fitted him for the job of hunting down and apprehending criminals. He is a man of great physical powers. He has the physical strength to cope with any criminal and besides he has the necessary grit and courage."⁶ It is an ironical recommendation for a man whose later reputation as a police official resulted from his application of intelligence rather than brawn to police work. Despite his youth and lack of law enforcement experience, Vollmer upset the incumbent and became town marshal on April 15, 1905.

When Vollmer first became a police official, law enforcement had suddenly become a major focus of Progressive reform interest. Large city police departments had become notorious for their corruption. One former police commissioner of New York City, William McAdoo, wrote of his entry into the position in 1904 that "it was with a heavy heart that I turned my face towards that antique and shabby palace, that sepulchre of reputations, that tomb of character, that morgue of political ambition, that cavern of intrigue and dissimulation—the Police Headquarters at Mulberry Street."⁷ Although the New York City police department may have manifested the problems of policing at the turn of the century in their most acute form, police departments in other cities also appeared to reform-minded observers to present a major challenge. Indeed, an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly* had observed on the eve of the new century that "there is no doubt that the police problem is one of the most important with which we have to deal. There is not a satisfactory police force in the country."⁸

One measure of this concern was the interest shown by some of America's most prominent journalists, public administrators, and politicians, including Jacob Riis, Lincoln Steffens, Newton Baker, Jane Addams, Brand Whitlock, and Theodore Roosevelt.⁹ For many people in the Progressive Era the police symbolized the worst features of corrupt government, and hence the police attracted the attention of various reform groups. Some groups sought to put municipal government on a professional administrative basis; some worked to get the police to enforce laws against vice (gambling, prostitution, and illegal liquor sales); some were primarily interested in protecting citizens against illegal police practices (e.g., the "third-degree"); still others tried to eliminate the repressive approach of police to crime prevention. The concerns of police reformers were mixed and usually embraced several of these objectives.¹⁰

By the time Vollmer took office as town marshal, police officials themselves had responded to some of these reform concerns. In 1893, they had joined for the first time in a professional organization which by 1902 had acquired its present name, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).¹¹ The primary aim of the IACP in its early years was the creation of a national system for the exchange of information on criminals.¹² However, at their annual conventions the members of the IACP discussed a wide variety of work-related topics. These

discussions reflected the aspirations of reform-minded police chiefs to make police better trained and educated, better equipped, and better administered in order to improve the effectiveness of police departments in the detection and control of crime.¹³ But in 1905 the IACP represented a very weak influence for professionalism in policing. Politics rather than professional principles still dominated most police departments throughout the country.¹⁴

Thus Vollmer embarked upon his career in law enforcement at a time of growing public interest in the improvement of policing, but it would have been difficult to predict Vollmer's later influence from the circumstances of his new position. His entire command consisted of three deputies. Berkeley's population at the turn of the century was 13,214, and the town exuded a semi-rural atmosphere. By 1905, however, Berkeley's population had risen to about 20,000, and by 1910 it jumped to 40,434. The city's rapid growth had begun to outstrip its law enforcement services. Shortly after taking office Vollmer commented to the *Berkeley Reporter*: "We should have the best police department in the United States, especially when we consider . . . the class of people who make their homes here . . . the nearness of two large cities which harbor many criminals . . . that two trans-continental main-lines run through this town . . . the ease with which it is possible to hide here, and the many different routes that may be taken to leave after having committed a crime."¹⁵

Berkeley proved to be a good place for an innovative police leader to begin his work. In 1909 when Berkeley adopted a new charter providing a commission form of government, it received praise as the most progressive in the country.¹⁶ The city's reputation for good government continued in the decades that followed. In 1923, it adopted a city manager form of government; and in the late 1920's and early 1930's experts judged it to be either one of the best or the best governed of American cities.¹⁷

The twenty-nine-year-old Vollmer's first action as town marshal was to request an increase in his police force from three to twelve deputies so that he could have both a night and day patrol. In keeping with the reform concern that motivated his election, he moved aggressively against local gambling and opium establishments. His first raid failed—the gamblers had received advance notice—and Vollmer and his officers could not positively identify the individuals they arrested (they were Chinese) nor substantiate that the defendants had actually been gambling or using opium. In subsequent raids he gathered sufficient evidence to obtain convictions.¹⁸

Vollmer soon won national publicity for being the first chief to order his men to ride bicycles on their beats. He himself had first used a bicycle to get around the city faster, in the face of jokes by some local newspapers. Time checks he had run showed that bicycles would allow his men on bicycles to respond three times faster to calls than men on foot.¹⁹

While ruminating about the time lost communicating emergency calls to his men, Vollmer by chance read about a private detective in Los Angeles who had developed a signal system for a residential area. He visited Los Angeles and investigated the system. Returning to Berkeley, he tried to persuade the city council to finance a system of red lights hung at each street intersection. The city council balked at the \$25,000 cost, but at Vollmer's urging they went to the people with



In 1909 Vollmer sat for this portrait (left) in his new chief of police uniform after laying aside the town marshal badge and black western hat that comprised the uniform of his first four years in law enforcement.

Vollmer was elected president of the California Chiefs of Police in 1907, an indication of his immediate reputation as a progressive leader in law enforcement.

One of Vollmer's first innovations was to install a red-light recall system. Officers had approximately three minutes to report in from the nearest box after the lights began to flash at an intersection.

The 1910's photo (right) shows the switchboard with its alarm buttons at police department headquarters in the basement of city hall. Automobiles were installed with radios in the 1920's, but the call box (below) remained in use.



a bond election to finance the new signal system. The voters approved it, and Berkeley acquired the first such signal system in the country.²⁰

As early as 1906 Vollmer became curious about the methods criminals used in committing their crimes. He began to question the criminals he arrested, and from his notes he compiled information on how different types of crimes were committed. He found that nearly every criminal had his own peculiar method of operation. With this knowledge, Vollmer sent out letters to other police chiefs requesting information on criminals who specialized in the kind of crimes that Vollmer and his deputies had been unable to solve. In one instance, several ministers' homes had been burglarized. A name and photograph from another police department matched an individual who was arrested by one of Vollmer's deputies a short while later.²¹ In this way Vollmer developed his own *modus operandi* file, modifying the older Atcherly system of classification.²²

In 1907, pursuant to an apparent suicide case that Vollmer suspected of being murder, Vollmer sought the advice of his friend Dr. Jacques Loeb, a professor of biology at the University of California. The "suicide" victim had been presumed



to have died from potassium cyanide, because he had been found clutching an empty bottle which contained traces of the poison. Loeb, however, observed that potassium cyanide relaxes the muscles of the body so that the victim would not have been able to hold onto the bottle. A Grand Jury nevertheless decided not to reopen the case because there were no photographs to substantiate that the bottle had actually been found in the victim's hand.²³

Although the Grand Jury's decision disappointed Vollmer, the incident convinced him of the value of scientific knowledge in criminal investigation and inspired him to embark on a program of self-education in various criminological subjects. Loeb recommended he read Hans Gross's book *Criminal Psychology*. This began Vollmer's education in then-current scientific theories of criminal behavior, and he proceeded to build for his first-hand knowledge a theoretical basis.²⁴

Although Vollmer showed an exceptional willingness to experiment with new ideas in his first three years of police work, his most daring innovation came in 1908. While it is an accepted idea today that a policeman ought to have training before he begins his work, in 1908 the idea of a "police school" was almost unknown in American policing. As late as 1917, when Vollmer and Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology in the college of pharmacy of the University of California, wrote about the Berkeley police school, they remarked: "A few years ago, the only requirement necessary for appointment as policeman was political pull and brute strength. . . . No preliminary training was necessary, and the officers were considered sufficiently equipped to perform their duties if they were armed with a revolver, club and handcuffs, and wore a regulation uniform."²⁵

The police school that Vollmer began in 1908 covered a wide variety of subjects relevant to police work. It was theoretical as well as practical. Vollmer drew upon the expertise of university professors as well as police officers like his friend

By 1915, Vollmer's command had grown from three deputies to the twenty-five stalwarts photographed here on the steps of Berkeley's city hall.



Walter Peterson, captain of inspectors in the Oakland police department. The school offered courses in police methods and procedures, fingerprinting, first aid, criminal law, anthropometry, photography, public health, and sanitation, as well as occasional lectures on related subjects in criminology, psychiatry, and anthropology.²⁶ In 1917, a revised curriculum outlined a tentative three-year course of study for men in the department: in the first year officers could take courses in physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, anatomy, criminology, anthropology and heredity, and toxicology. During the second year they could study criminological psychology, psychiatry, criminology (theoretical and applied), police organization and administration, and police methods and procedure. The third year of study encompassed microbiology and parasitology, police micro-analysis, public health, first aid to the injured, and elementary and criminal law.²⁷ Clearly, Vollmer intended to educate his officers to be criminologists as well as police officers. A comparison of this heavily theoretical approach to police education with the more practical offerings of most two-year programs in police science today evidences the daring of Vollmer's ideas on police education.

It was not always easy for Vollmer to persuade the city council to adopt his ideas. In later years, when one of Vollmer's former police officers ran into trouble trying to reorganize a small police department along professional lines, Vollmer wrote to him: "What you are suffering right now was endured by me when I first entered the police service. It was a constant battle and there never was an occasion in the first few years when I had any more than a bare majority of the Council. It was fight every day and fight every night."²⁸

Other innovations followed those of the early years. By 1914 Vollmer had his entire patrol force operating out of automobiles, the first totally mobile patrol force in the country. In 1916 Vollmer persuaded Dr. Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology, to become a full-time criminologist in charge of the department's crime investigation laboratory.²⁹ In 1918 he moved in two directions to improve the quality of personnel under his command. He began to hire college students as part-time police officers in order to obtain more intelligent and better educated officers. At the same time he had Dr. Jau Don Ball of the University of California, a physician and psychiatrist who had participated in testing men for entry into the Army during World War I, prepare a set of intelligence, psychiatric, and neurological tests by which to select applicants. On the basis of these tests Vollmer initially selected some fifteen out of the more than one hundred college students who applied for a position on the force.³⁰ Vollmer later commented that what "distinguishes the Berkeley police department from others is the fact that rigid entrance requirements were set up many years ago and have been strictly adhered to since that time."³¹ Vollmer was the first police chief to actively recruit police officers from among college students. Although the newspapers enjoyed caricaturing Vollmer's "college cops," the experiment succeeded beyond even Vollmer's expectations. Out of this group of "college cops" came some outstanding police leaders, including O. W. Wilson, who after many years as a police chief went on to become the first dean of the school of criminology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Vollmer later wrote of the period from 1916 to 1921 as the time when scientific investigation of crime began in the United States:

Captain C. [arence] D. Lee of the Department was then working with the handwriting classification scheme which later was published by Appletons [publishing company]. Dr. [Albert] Schneider [of the University of California] . . . established a laboratory at the police department in Berkeley to which all problems referable to the chemical and micro-analyst were assigned, and later, as a result of the work of the school and other activities, the so-called Lie Detector, also referred to as the Polygraph, was developed. Dr. [John A.] Larson, the inventor of this method, also produced at the department in that period the single fingerprint classification scheme which was published by Appletons. . . . Subsequently, while serving as Police Chief in Los Angeles [1923-1924], a scientific laboratory was established. . . . A Scientific Laboratory was also established in Detroit while I served that city as Police Consultant [1926]. . . . Briefly . . . as a result of the establishment of these three laboratories the idea of scientific laboratories has grown, and they are now [1930] to be found in other police departments of this country, including Rochester, St. Louis, and New Orleans.³²

In 1921, in addition to experimenting with the lie detector, Vollmer also worked on improving communications with his police officers on patrol. When it occurred to him that it should be possible to install radio sets in patrol cars, two of his officers installed a crystal set and earphones in a Model-T Ford touring car. This vehicle became the first radio car.³³

By 1921, then, Vollmer had developed a high reputation among police officials. From the beginning of his career he had been active in police organizations on the local, state, and national levels, and he served as president of the California Association of Chiefs of Police as early as 1908. In 1921 he was elected president of the national police organization, the International Association of Chiefs of Police.³⁴

As early as 1913, police officials from other parts of the country began to visit Berkeley.³⁵ In 1917 Vollmer was asked for the first time to conduct a survey of another police department, the force in San Diego. Raymond B. Fosdick, a respected authority on the police at the time, called attention to the exceptional record of crime control achieved by the Berkeley police department in his book *American Police Systems* (1920). Between 1908 and 1915, Berkeley's population increased by 73 per cent, but its criminal complaints rose by only 14 per cent and the value of stolen property actually decreased by 28 per cent in the same period. During these years only five men had been added to the police force. Fosdick credited the motorization of the Berkeley patrol force as the most important factor in the achievement of this record.³⁶

In 1923 Vollmer was approached by a delegation of citizens representing the Citizens' Anti-Crime Commission of Los Angeles. They came seeking Vollmer's help in the reorganization of a police department ridden by corruption and ineffectual in crime control. They offered Vollmer the position of Los Angeles police chief. Vollmer was reluctant to take the job, but after the mayor of Los Angeles sent another group to see him, and on the condition that he would leave his favored Berkeley for only a year, he accepted. Vollmer arrived in Los Angeles on August 4, 1923.³⁷

His assignment in Los Angeles was similar in nature but vastly different in scale to the one for which he was first elected as Berkeley's town marshal. Los Angeles reformers wanted the city and its police force cleaned up. Gambling and the illegal sale of liquor—Prohibition had been established—constituted the major problems. Granted a \$100,000 private fund, Vollmer hired ex-criminals to gather

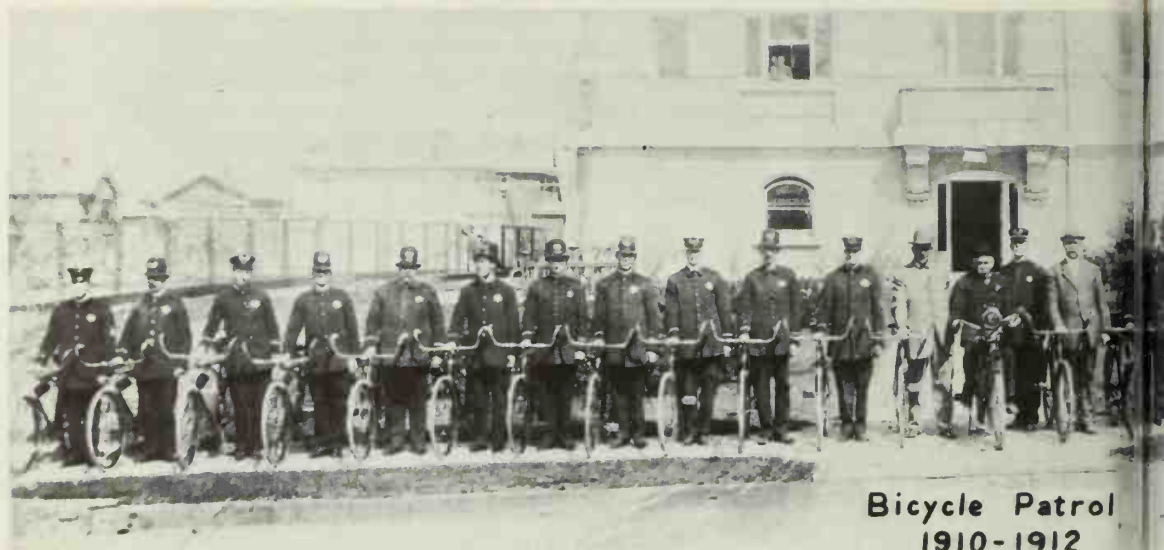
intelligence information on the criminal network in Los Angeles. He also appointed an honest and aggressive captain to head the vice division. On the basis of the information provided by his undercover agents, the vice division began its raids, and Vollmer started a *modus operandi* file.

Then he required all three thousand officers on the Los Angeles force to undergo the Army alpha-rating test for intelligence. Using the test scores, Vollmer re-assigned and promoted officers. This action made Vollmer as unpopular with most of the police force as he was with the gamblers and corrupt politicians. But he gained new respect within the department when his carefully thought-out plan for stopping a rash of bank robberies succeeded. He had assigned small details of officers to each of the banks in the city which had not yet been robbed, and with this deterrent bank robberies in Los Angeles soon declined.³⁸ When Vollmer returned to Berkeley in the summer of 1924 after a year in Los Angeles, he left behind many enemies both within and outside the force, and his reforms met with too much opposition to have a lasting effect. In fact it was not until the 1950's that the Los Angeles police department developed into a professionalized police system under Chief William H. Parker.³⁹

After his much-publicized stint in Los Angeles, Vollmer received many requests to help reorganize police departments in other cities. In the late 1920's he served as consultant to and wrote reports on the police departments of Detroit, Chicago, and Havana, Cuba. Then, in 1929, he was asked to serve as police consultant to the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. This provided him with an opportunity to bring many of his ideas and experiences to bear on policing in the nation as a whole. In the fall of that same year he was appointed the first professor of police administration in the country at the University of Chicago. When he returned to Berkeley in 1931 he received a similar appointment at the University of California, a position which he held concurrently with the office of chief of police until his retirement in 1932. He continued to serve as a university professor until his retirement from that position in 1937.⁴⁰

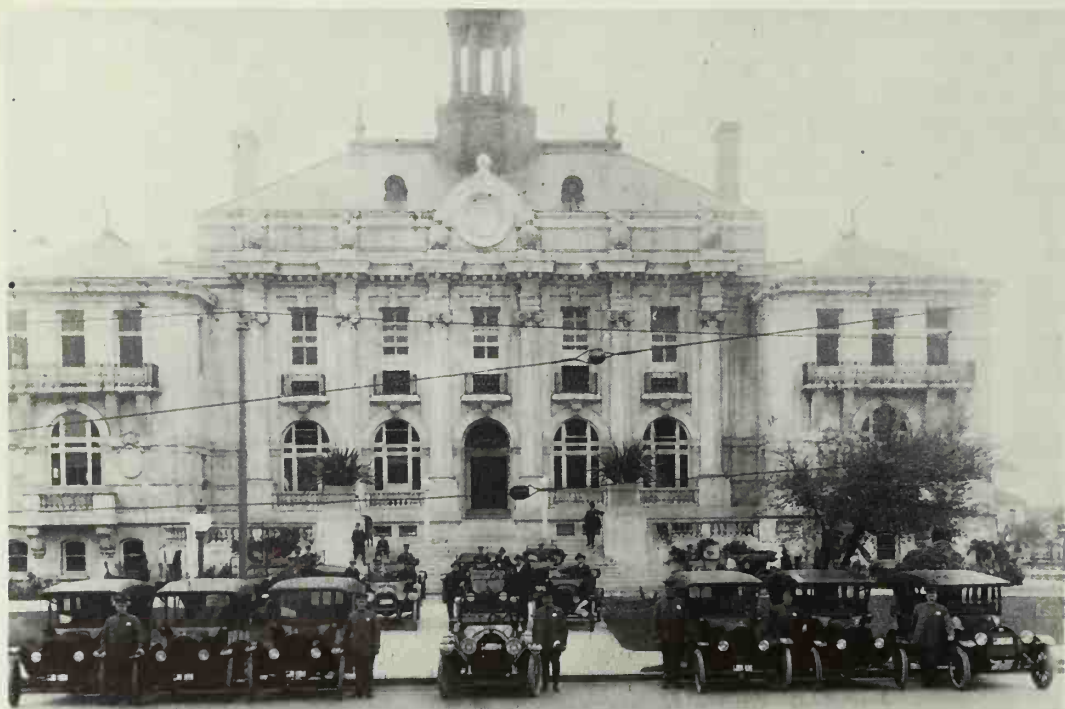
Vollmer's efforts in the 1920's and 1930's to make policing scientific and professional were part of a broader movement within policing during this period. Despite sustained police corruption and illegality in some cities, police ineffectiveness against professional and organized crime arising out of the conditions created by Prohibition, and police administrative inefficiency (revealed by numerous studies and reports of crime commissions), the 1920's and 1930's were viewed by criminologists, public administration experts, and police professionals alike as an era of unparalleled progress toward professionalism in policing.

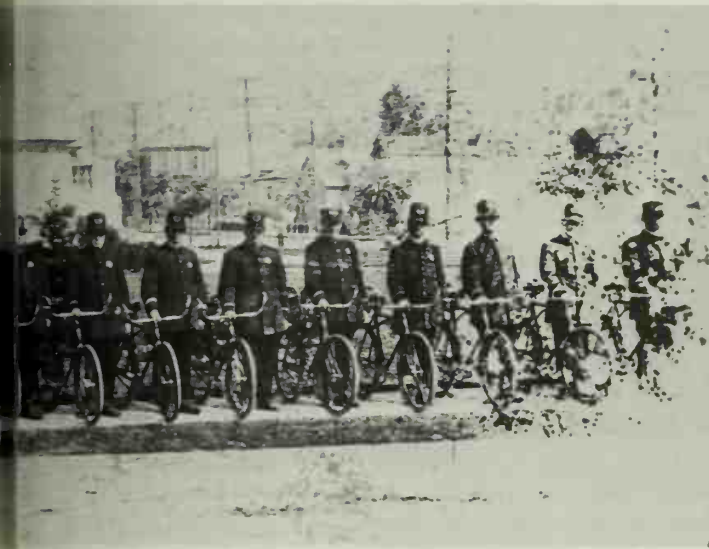
By 1933, a report on crime and punishment for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends by Edwin H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke could point to a long list of progressive developments in such areas as expansion of police services, criminal investigation and identification, police training, communications, transportation, administration, and the growth of professional police organizations.⁴¹ For a police professional like Vollmer, this first stock-taking of police progress since the turn of the century was tremendously encouraging. "In no other branch of government have such remarkable changes been made as those made in the field of police organization and administration during the last quarter of a century," Vollmer observed. He continued:



**Bicycle Patrol
1910-1912**

By the late 1920's Vollmer was hiring mounted policemen who purchased their own vehicles and were reimbursed for expenses. The mounted patrol posed (below) with their machines on the steps of city hall on Grove Street. As well, battery-powered radios were experimentally placed in the back seats of vehicles so that earphoned drivers such as Officer Jack Fisher (right) could respond immediately to radio instruction.





Recognizing the importance of speedy response to calls for assistance and to apprehension of criminals, Vollmer won national publicity for the force when he put them on bicycles (left). Motorcycles soon replaced the bicycles.

One can scarcely believe that such great advances could be made in so short a time. It is a far cry from the old politically-controlled police department to the modern, scientifically-operated organization. Under the old system, police officials were appointed through political affiliations and because of them. They were frequently unintelligent and untrained; they were distributed through the area to be policed according to a hit-or-miss system and without adequate means of communication; they had little or no record system; their investigation methods were obsolete; and they had no conception of the preventive possibilities of the service.⁴²

The enthusiasm over progress toward police professionalism in this period is perhaps best measured by the remarks of Edwin H. Sutherland in 1939. In the third edition of *Principles of Criminology*, Sutherland, who was by then an esteemed criminologist with no personal reason to inflate police accomplishments, wrote: "In no other part of the entire field of criminal justice or of municipal administration is as much enthusiasm shown in regard to the possibility of developing scientific and professional methods as in the police field."⁴³

Certainly, progress in policing in the 1920's and 1930's was measured primarily in terms of the objectives of crime control, and Vollmer's career in policing rested on his abilities as a police administrator capable of managing an efficient crime-fighting organization. But his reputation then, and his significance for police work today, also rests on his concern with the social dimensions of police work.

In 1919 Vollmer addressed the International Association of Chiefs of Police on the subject, "The Policeman As A Social Worker."⁴⁴ Anyone familiar with policing issues today can imagine how controversial this idea must have been in Vollmer's time.⁴⁵ In his paper, Vollmer urged police to develop crime prevention programs that would attack crime at its sources; specifically, he called for organized cooperation between police and other social agencies to reduce juvenile delinquency.

The attempt to develop a new role for police in the Progressive Era can be

traced to the ideas of a widely-known clergyman-author, Charles M. Sheldon, who proposed in 1913 that policemen should be Christian missionaries and social workers.⁴⁶ In the next few years the concept gained attention in and out of the policing professions. In 1914 the city chamberlain of New York City, Henry Bruère, published an article entitled "Police As Welfare Workers."⁴⁷ In general, such reformers envisioned the police department as the central coordinating agency for an attack on social problems because police were thought to have more immediate and first-hand contact with social problems than any governmental agency. A few police officials also lent their support to this concept. In 1913, the chief of police of Rochester, New York, remarked to police officials attending the annual IACP convention that "the time is at hand when the efficiency of the police will be judged, not by the number of criminals apprehended, but by the amount of crime committed in a community, and the popular policeman will no longer be the catcher of criminals, but the one who foresees crime and prevents it."⁴⁸

By 1919 a handful of police experiments had tried crime prevention programs. Detroit, which set up a juvenile delinquency division in 1877, assigned a captain and ten officers to this work by 1920. New York City's Police Commissioner Arthur Woods (1914-1918), a Harvard graduate and former headmaster of Groton School when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a student, shaped a varied program in which released penitentiary inmates were helped to find jobs, a Junior Police involving some 6,000 youths had been created, and, in 1917, a "welfare-officer" had been assigned to each of forty-seven precincts to work with problem children. In Berkeley, ten years of growing interest in police work with juvenile delinquents had led to the introduction of courses on crime prevention into the training program for police officers.⁴⁹

Vollmer, then, in his address, "The Policeman As A Social Worker," was responding to a number of ideas current in reform public administration and police circles. Berkeley's police department, however, could take credit for first developing a program coordinating police efforts at crime prevention with those of other government agencies. In 1925 the first coordinating council in the country was organized by Vollmer in Berkeley for the purpose of mobilizing community resources to deal with juvenile delinquency. In the next decade, Berkeley's Coordinating Council Plan spread to nine other states and involved some seventy-three coordinating councils or similar organizations supported by public or private agencies.⁵⁰

Vollmer's interest in juveniles was long standing. In the first few years after he became town marshal, he served notice to his men that juveniles were not to be put behind bars. His scientific interest in juvenile delinquency, however, can be dated from 1915 when the department first began to keep separate statistics on juvenile and adult offenses.⁵¹ When in the following years juvenile crimes increased sharply, Vollmer tried to discover the underlying causes. His familiarity with the studies of William Healy, the famous Chicago psychiatrist whose investigations of criminal behavior exerted a major influence on criminological thought in this period, convinced him of the need to study juvenile delinquency from several points of view—psychiatric, neurological, psychological, sociological, and medical.⁵² Vollmer believed it unfair for the courts to reach decisions

on the disposition of delinquents without a scientific examination. He was convinced that many delinquents suffered from mental and physical defects, such as feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and insanity. Therefore, criminals needed to be classified by types and treated in an appropriate humane way. While in recent years the search for criminal types has been displaced from the mainstream of criminological theory and what has interested criminologists is how criminals are like everyone else, Vollmer was responding to the latest developments in criminological thought of his day.⁵³

Accordingly, in 1919 Vollmer helped initiate a study of children in the first six grades of a Berkeley public school, the Hawthorne School Study, aimed at discovering relationships between personal abnormalities of children and social conditions. The study concluded that some children possessed the same pattern of personal and social abnormalities found in the life histories of adult criminals. These children were labeled "predelinquents." Unless they received attention from appropriate social agencies, Vollmer believed, many would be likely to become involved in crime.

Vollmer suggested that the police department should gather information on the delinquent tendencies of children. With information drawn from the personal observations of police officers and school authorities, the department could plot the residential location of these children on a city map. Then the police would be in a position to "command assistance from parents, teachers, preachers, and recreation supervisors" to eliminate those individual and social factors which would inevitably produce more crime.⁵⁴

Today, this program, of course, is recognized as a greatly oversimplified scheme for dealing with juvenile delinquency, the result of excessive optimism about the public good that might be derived from the intervention of trained professionals in the private lives of citizens. It represented a professional version of the concern with private moral behavior shown by the moral reformers of the Progressive Era and a potentially dangerous intrusion on the private rights of citizens.

Vollmer unhesitatingly proposed such sweeping intervention in the private lives of citizens. On one occasion he declared: "When parents are unable, by reason of economic or other conditions, to furnish the proper home training and their offspring acquires delinquent tendencies, or where temptations tear the moral fabric, or where bad habits of defective or neglected children are transmitted to others, the community and the child would profit were it possible to place these potential offenders in parental schools until they are taught how to adjust themselves in a normal environment."⁵⁵ Vollmer's program of crime prevention, a radically new departure in law enforcement, sanctioned police action against predicted as well as actual criminal behavior. Like professionals in other fields, Vollmer became caught up in the movement to "save the child" which we now realize neglected the rights of children and greatly overestimated the reform capabilities of the "child savers."⁵⁶

The program of crime prevention initiated by Vollmer in Berkeley fell short of its objectives. It did result in a larger degree of cooperation and coordination between the police department and other social agencies. The "psychiatric attack upon an entire area," as Elisabeth Lossing of the department's Crime Prevention Division head phrased it, never materialized.⁵⁷



ABOVE: One of Vollmer's major contributions to law enforcement was his sustained emphasis on police training and scientific method and investigation. The group of police officers and their instructor, Dr. Albert Schneider (standing), are studying microscopy in 1915 at a police school. Vollmer is seated (left) at the table.



LEFT: During the late 1910's, handwriting and fingerprint classification, chemical analysis, and the polygraph or lie detector were developed by his colleagues. In 1923 Inspector Frank L. Waterbury administered the polygraph test (left) to a man accused of murder who was adjudged innocent by the machine.

The Crime Prevention Division, established in 1925, had the backing of numerous city agencies and organizations, but it received crucial support from individuals who sought to establish a modern child guidance clinic and saw the Crime Prevention Division as a substitute. According to Lossing, who became the division's head in 1925, this fact accounted for the appointment of a person to run the division who was both a woman and a professional social worker with psychiatric and psychological training. Thus, the work of the division came to focus on personal counseling, investigation, and referral and to involve, for the most part, female adult and juvenile offenders. Between July, 1925, and July, 1935, the division handled 1,563 juvenile and 1,905 adult cases, of which 1,689 of the juveniles and 1,451 of the adults were females. The cases of male juveniles over twelve years of age continued under the jurisdiction of a police inspector.⁵⁸

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's Vollmer worked to persuade police of their responsibility for assuming a new, socially oriented role in crime prevention. In his wide-ranging study of the police and modern society published in 1936, he reiterated that "police organizations constitute . . . the logical agencies for the coordination of the resources of the community in a concentrated effort toward crime prevention."⁵⁹ Vollmer made clear that he considered this a complementary role for the "scientific policeman," a term first appearing in his writing in 1930.⁶⁰ In 1936, when asked how to create a modern police force, he pointed to the need for "scientific police officials" but added that a police force should be "a socialized organization capable of understanding the factors underlying delinquency" and able to contribute "towards the removal of the causes."⁶¹

Vollmer's concern with the prevention of delinquency was a logical extension of his interest in crime control, but it also developed from his strong humanitarian concern which demonstrated itself in other areas as well. Within his own department Vollmer took measures to eliminate and prevent police brutality.⁶² In 1929 when Vollmer was on leave from Berkeley and teaching in Chicago, a policeman allegedly struck a prisoner. The officer involved received a reprimand and an entry in his record from the acting chief. Vollmer wrote to a correspondent at the time that if he had been in Berkeley when this affair occurred "his services would have been terminated immediately because under no circumstances can we countenance brutality of any kind in the police department."⁶³ In 1923 when Vollmer was chief of the Los Angeles police department and responsible for the operation of the large city jail system, he tried to improve the conditions for prisoners.⁶⁴ Finding the jail squalid and overcrowded, he made an appeal to the mayor and city council for the construction of a new city jail which would consist of one-story barracks buildings with modern plumbing and kitchen facilities and with space for growing flowers and vegetables. He also proposed that volunteer prisoners be allowed to build the new jail. Although he later was heavily criticized for being too soft in his attitude toward the city's prison inmates and the city council ignored his proposal, a Grand Jury investigating the condition of the city's jails a short while later finally ordered that new jails be constructed according to Vollmer's plans. The new jail complex represented one of the early experiments with the concept of prison farms.⁶⁵ Vollmer's humanitarianism was also reflected in his support for the abolition of capital punishment in California.⁶⁶

In his efforts to improve the education and training of police officers, Vollmer

also demonstrated his concern with the social dimensions of police work. While his goal was to make policemen professionals, equal in education and status to professionals in other fields, he realized that this goal, this "fancy," could only be achieved sometime in the future: "My fancy pictures to me a new profession in which the very best manhood in our nation will be happy to serve in future," Vollmer wrote in 1930. "Why should not the cream of the nation be perfectly willing to devote their lives to the cause of service providing that service is dignified, socialized, and professionalized? Surely the Army offers no such opportunities for contributing to the welfare of the nation and yet men unhesitatingly spend their lives preparing for Army service."⁶⁷ In a reply to a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter who requested a statement on the crime problem, he observed: "The policeman's task is much more difficult than that of the doctor, the lawyer, or the engineer, because to do the job thoroughly the trained officer should have a knowledge of all three of these professions, but we consider the job well done when we select for our police force the laborer, chauffeur, farmer, or any other untrained or unskilled person regardless of his intelligence or his educational fitness for the job." Underscoring the paramount importance of police training, he urged: "We might set this down as one of the prime factors in our search for crime causes since intelligent and trained policemen would strike at the root of the evil by destroying the germs that produce social disease."⁶⁸ Well-educated policemen were needed not only to advance policing administratively, scientifically, and technologically, but to develop police departments into socially oriented agencies of crime prevention.

Beginning in 1908, Vollmer had pioneered in the creation of police schools within police departments. By the end of the 1920's he became the acknowledged leader of a movement to establish police schools in colleges and universities. Vollmer's appointment as the nation's first professor of police administration in 1929 represented a new recognition of the need for professionally trained police forces and research in the field of police administration.⁶⁹ In 1931, when Vollmer became the first professor of police administration at the University of California, he helped organize the first college-level training program in the country at San Jose State College in San Jose, California.⁷⁰

The original program of study at San Jose State College reflected Vollmer's belief in a broad education for police officers. The first-year requirements consisted of courses in police administration, physical education, psychology, English, chemistry, physical science, and political science with electives in commerce (typing and stenography) and physics. In the second year students took advanced courses in police administration, sociology, physical education (boxing and wrestling), introduction to psychiatry, bacteriology (micro-analysis), student health (first-aid), political science, and American institutions with electives in commerce, public health, and foreign languages.⁷¹

In 1931 Vollmer wrote: "After spending nearly a quarter of a century instructing policemen I have come to the conclusion that the mechanics of the profession are of less importance than a knowledge of human beings."⁷² Hence, he placed heavy emphasis in the police curriculum on the study of human behavior, especially abnormal behavior. He informed one correspondent that he would urge police instructors "to visit regularly . . . at state hospitals, psychopathic hospitals,

hospitals for the feeble-minded, hospitals for the criminally insane." He believed that "the key to human behavior lies through a study of its abnormal manifestations, starting with the frankly insane, those who are recognized to be distinctly abnormal, and next the 'middle of the road' group sometimes labeled semi-insane or semi-responsible."⁷³

A few years later, however, Vollmer commented on the pressure for courses of a strictly technical nature: "Obviously, the man on the beat need not be specially skilled in either the mental, biological or social sciences, nor should it be necessary for him to be intimately acquainted with every phase of the humanities. But none of these can be overlooked in the training of policemen if he is to have a broad, cultural, scientific, and technical background requisite for the performance of the modern policeman's duties."⁷⁴

Ultimately, despite his concern with the social dimensions of police work and humanitarian attitude toward criminals, Vollmer's interest in crime control led him to advocate particularly stringent action toward recidivists (persons with records of repeated crimes). He argued that these persons ought to be kept in prison until it could be definitely proven that they would commit no further crimes, although he offered no suggestions as to how such a determination might be made. In actuality he appeared to advocate indefinite administrative retention in prison of repeat offenders,⁷⁵ and he further advocated that persons released from prison be compelled to register and to keep the police informed of their movement between states. Aware of citizen resistance to such measures, he maintained that they were essential to the protection of communities against crime of a "migratory" nature.⁷⁶

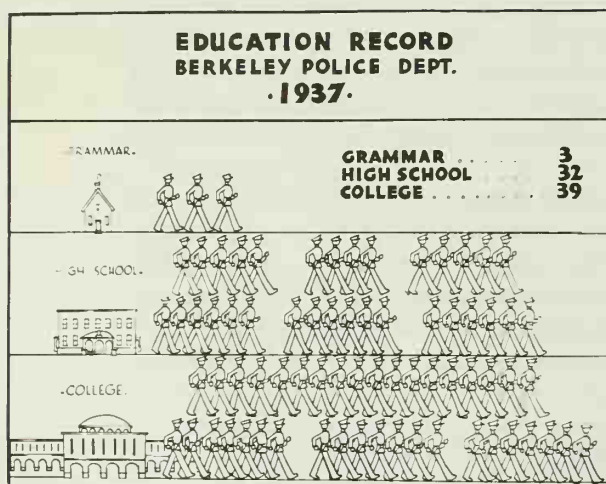
In the interest of crime control and crime prevention, there was no principle about which Vollmer was more insistent than the need to eliminate politics from policing. In recent years it has become increasingly questionable whether this is possible. Professionalized police departments seem as political in their own way as old-style police departments whose policies were dictated to a large extent by ward politics.⁷⁷ Police officers have been viewed as representative of white,

Open to unconventional methods of apprehending criminals, Vollmer experimented for a time with a pack of trained bloodhounds.





Concerned with the social and psychiatric dimensions of crime, Vollmer saw Elizabeth Lossing, a professional social worker (shown above with Vollmer's successor, J. A. Greening) appointed in 1925 to head the crime prevention bureau.



Convinced that well-educated men were essential to advancing policing administratively, scientifically, and psychologically, Vollmer drew national attention in 1918 by recruiting college students as officers. By 1937, a majority of the force had college-level training.

middle-class values and as prejudiced against racial and political minorities.⁷⁸ It is important, however, to understand why police leaders like Vollmer believed in the possibility of keeping politics out of policing, regardless of whether they succeeded.

In *The Police and Modern Society* (1936) Vollmer remarked that “the police services of the United States have traveled just as far toward the control and prevention of crime as the public will permit. So long as legal procedure and political influence are allowed to bring comfort and aid to a criminal population of more than five million persons . . . so long will the police labor in vain. . . .”⁷⁹ The key battle, he believed, was the selection of police chiefs. He wrote to one correspondent that “with reference to the question concerning the selection of a chief of police the only standards employed thus far seems to be to pick the man who

is judged politically qualified for the position. In other words, there is no approved method of selection of chiefs of police by scientific means. . . ."⁸⁰ Vollmer's observation is largely true today. The practice of selecting a police chief varies from city to city. The trend has been toward appointment by the chief administrator of the municipality, and the position may or may not be under civil service. In some instances, a competitive examination is administered; in other instances the chief administrator uses his own criteria for selection.⁸¹

On numerous occasions Vollmer urged the selection of chiefs of police from lists of eligible candidates prepared by civil service commissions. He also insisted that a chief appointed in this manner be granted all the protections of tenure afforded by civil service rules.⁸² Vollmer observed that European nations recognized the police executive's importance and that many men became heads of police departments after distinguished service in other government posts.⁸³

For the same reasons that he opposed the interference of politicians in the selection of police chiefs and officers, Vollmer came to oppose attempts to deal with social problems by means of criminal laws. Despite his involvement as a police chief in campaigns against vice, he wrote in 1936 that the only way to eliminate vice, by which he meant gambling, prostitution, and the illegal sale or use of liquor or narcotics, was by "educative processes."⁸⁴ Attempts to repress vice by means of the criminal law, he believed, only resulted in the corruption of municipal government as a whole and the police in particular. As for solutions, "The only safe and sane method of handling the problem of gambling—and of all the parasitic vices—is by licensing, regulation, and control, through a state agency established solely for that purpose and empowered to enforce the regulatory provisions."⁸⁵ Vollmer suggested this same solution for the problem of narcotics. "Stringent laws, spectacular police drives, vigorous prosecution, and imprisonment of addicts and peddlers have proved not only useless and enormously expensive . . . but they are also unjustifiably and unbelievably cruel in their application to the unfortunate drug victims," he declared. He proposed "the establishment of federal control and dispensation—at cost—of habit-forming drugs. . . . With the profit motive gone, no effort would be made to encourage its use by private dispensers of narcotics, and the drug peddler would disappear." Vollmer viewed drug addiction, like other vices, as a "medical problem" rather than a "police problem."⁸⁶

Vollmer's dislike of politics as well as his concern with crime control led him to advocate consolidation and closer coordination of police forces on the state and national levels of government. In October, 1934, Vollmer wrote to the president of the Los Angeles Bar Association to express his views on statewide consolidation of police forces: "It is my opinion that a single state police force which would eliminate all other police forces in the state would be much more efficient and economical than the multitudinous police units that are to be found in California," Vollmer declared. "We could wipe out of existence all constables, sheriffs, village marshals, municipal police forces, the state motor vehicle police force, and a number of the other state forces that have police power, and substitute a carefully selected and well-trained body of men to do their work."⁸⁷

Vollmer's model for the centralization of police forces within a state was the system of various European nations. In *Crime and the State Police* (1935), Vollmer

and Alfred E. Parker praised the efficiency of such European state police forces as the *Guardia Civil* of Spain, "a national police corps organized on a military basis."⁸⁸ In the interest of crime control Vollmer was willing to eliminate one of the fundamental features of a democratic police system, namely, local control.

Vollmer's career encouraged progress toward police professionalism because it produced measurable results. Statistics on crime in Berkeley under Vollmer's leadership and in Wichita, Kansas, where Vollmer's former student and officer Orlando W. Wilson headed the police, proved the value of scientific police work. The low crime rate Berkeley had achieved by 1915 continued to be characteristic. By 1936 Vollmer could point to the fact that Berkeley had the lowest crime rate of any city of its class in California and, at the same time, the lowest per capita cost for policing of any city of its size in the country.⁸⁹ Wilson's record was similarly impressive. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley, training under Vollmer during his college years (and briefly thereafter), and heading the Fullerton, California, police department for three years, Wilson took over the Wichita police department. At first town politicians referred to him as "the boy scout cop," but he successfully reorganized the department and by 1938 could point to crime clearance rates far in excess of the national average.⁹⁰

Although Vollmer retired as chief of police in 1932 and as professor at the University of California in 1937, he continued in active research and writing until 1951. Following his death in 1955, the editors of the first issue of a new police journal noted that "the Vollmer system of police administration attracted national and international attention, illuminating the way for an emerging profession and launching the American police services into a period of transition, the full implications of which are not yet generally understood."⁹¹ Although the obituary ignored the contributions of others to the development of police professionalism, it was a fitting tribute to the importance and pioneering nature of Vollmer's police career.

Because of its impacts, Vollmer's career deserves to be viewed critically. In his zeal to control crime, Vollmer advocated proposals for the consolidation of police forces which contained dangerous implications for democratic control of the police. Vollmer's confidence in the capability of the social sciences to predict which juveniles would become delinquent led him to advocate serious invasions of the rights of potential delinquents and their parents. In his concern with police crime prevention or social work, Vollmer stressed the importance of knowledge of abnormal behavior, when in fact the non-criminal aspects of police work require general human-relations knowledge or, in the case of crisis intervention work, knowledge of how to handle family quarrels, alcoholics, drug addicts, gatherings of youths and the like.

Nevertheless, Vollmer deserves respect for his attempt to achieve a balanced relationship between the goals of crime control, crime prevention, and community relations. That his reputation rests more on his accomplishments in the area of crime control is a reflection of the fact that it is easier to measure performance in this area. Vollmer recognized that police work is much more than the enforcement of laws and apprehension of criminals. Although his views of crime rested on criminological theories which have been revised or superseded, he did approach the study of the nature of crime with an open mind and tried to

incorporate the new knowledge into his work. Above all, Vollmer recognized that police have one of the most difficult tasks in society and that this duty requires men and women of intelligence, good education, and high dedication.

Although many of the reforms which Vollmer helped to initiate in police work have become commonplace today, especially those concerned with criminal investigation, police administration, and police communications and transportation, many of his ideas continue to be controversial. There is still disagreement about how much education police officers need to accomplish their work. Most police recruits have acquired only a high-school education, and most receive only a short technical training before beginning their work.⁹² The role of police in crime and delinquency prevention is not yet clearly defined.⁹³ The idea that police work requires the skills of a social worker still meets resistance, despite evidence that police work involves human relations as much as law enforcement skills.⁹⁴ In short, the social dimensions of policing which Vollmer outlined are still underdeveloped.

Several years ago, Arthur Niederhoffer, a veteran police officer turned sociologist, wrote that "from within the system a conflict of values is spreading confusion. The old police code symbolized by the 'tough cop' is waning. The new ideology glorifying the 'social scientist police officer' is meeting unexpected resistance. The external force of social change has set the police organization adrift in uncharted territory."⁹⁵ As Niederhoffer's remarks suggest, the professionalization of policing as Vollmer conceived of it has been a slow process. Although innovations in the area of crime control have been accepted relatively quickly, new ideas in the areas of crime prevention and community relations have encountered considerable opposition. In these areas, Vollmer's career may still serve as a source of inspiration to those who continue to pursue the "impossible dream" of changing the police.

Although Vollmer had only a grade school education, he authored four books and, between 1917 and 1945, nearly fifty articles, primarily for professional journals. Here, after retirement, he is pictured with his major work, The Police and Modern Society.



NOTES

1. A. C. Germann, "Changing the Police—The Impossible Dream?" *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science (JCL, C, PS)*, LXII:416-21 (September, 1971).

2. Jerome H. Skolnick, *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society* (New York, 1966); Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom* (New York, 1967).

3. For biographical details of Vollmer's life, see Alfred E. Parker, *Crime Fighter: August Vollmer* (New York, 1961) and Albert Deutsch, *The Trouble with Cops* (New York, 1954), pp. 114-48. Parker, a close associate of Vollmer, collaborated with him on two books: *Crime and the State Police* (Berkeley, 1935) and *Crime, Crooks and Cops* (New York and London, 1937). Deutsch spent summers in Berkeley and became close friends with Vollmer and O. W. Wilson. The Vollmer MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, includes a two-page chronology of Vollmer's major activities from 1896 to 1947 which is useful. Frederick L. Collins, "A Professor Who Cleaned Up A City," *Collier's*, LXXIV:12 (November 8, 1924), contains some additional information. This discussion of Vollmer's ideas on policing is based on a reading of letters in the Vollmer MSS (which do not begin until 1929) and his published writings.

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5. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 77.

6. Quoted in Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 41-42.

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9. Jacob August Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890) and *The Making of An American* (New York, 1901); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Newton D. Baker, "Law, Police and Social Problems," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXVI:12-20 (July, 1915); Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (New York and London, 1907); Brand Whitlock, *On the Enforcement of Law in Cities* (Toledo, Ohio, 1911); Theodore Roosevelt, "Ethnology of the Police," *Munsey's*, XVII:395-99 (January, 1897).

10. See in addition Frank Moss, "National Danger from Police Corruption," *North American Review*, CLXXIII:474-75 (October, 1901); Hugo Münsterberg, "The Third Degree," *McClure's Magazine*, XXIX:614-22 (October, 1907); and Hugh C. Weir, "The Menace of the Police," *World To-day*, XVIII:52-59, 171-78, 308-13, 599-606 (January-March, 1910) and *World To-day*, XIX:839-45 (June-August, 1910).

11. Formed as the National Chiefs of Police Union in 1893, it became the National Association of Chiefs of Police in 1895, the Chiefs of Police of the United States and Canada in 1898, before becoming the IACP. See the proceedings of the organization during these years.

12. See John L. Thompson, "National Identification Bureau is IACP Pioneers' Legacy," *Police Chief*, XXXV:10-42 (January, 1968).

13. See IACP proceedings.

14. August Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (JCL & C), XXIV:161-75 (May-June, 1933).

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16. William Warren Ferrier, *Berkeley, California: The Story of the Evolution of A Hamlet into A City of Culture and Commerce*, 262-63 (Berkeley, 1933).

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22. August Vollmer, "Revision of the Atcherly Modus Operandi System," *JCL & C*, X:229-74 (August, 1919).
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30. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 99-104.
31. August Vollmer to Helen M. Rocca, November 15, 1929.
32. August Vollmer to Boris Brasol, December 27, 1930.
33. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 105-19.
34. See IACP, *Proceedings*, 1621.
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58. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
59. August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 235 (Berkeley, 1936).
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(January, 1930), and "The Scientific Policeman—Introducing A New Type of Crime Fighter," 13-13, V:15-16 (August, 1930).

61. August Vollmer to Reverend T. McAfee, February 21, 1936, Vollmer MSS.

62. See, for example, Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.

63. Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.

64. August Vollmer to John G. Clark, January 9, 1935.

65. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 153-58.

66. August Vollmer to John Buwalds, March 19, 1931.

67. August Vollmer to J. A. Greening, October 15, 1930.

68. August Vollmer to George Barton, October 28, 1930.

69. August Vollmer to O. W. Wilson, March 7, 1936.

70. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164-65.

71. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164-65.

72. August Vollmer to Cornelius F. Cahalane, January 21, 1931.

73. August Vollmer to Cornelius F. Cahalane, January 21, 1931.

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83. U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Police*, No. 14 (Washington, D.C., 1931), 19.

84. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 82.

85. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 99-100.

86. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 118.

87. August Vollmer to W. H. Anderson, October 23, 1934.

88. Vollmer and Parker, *Crime and the State Police*, 131.

89. August Vollmer to Reverend T. McAfee, February 21, 1936.

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THE PHOTOGRAPHS on pages 104 (top) and 121 are from the August Vollmer collection at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All the other illustrations are courtesy the Berkeley Police Department.

The First Picture Show

GEOFFREY BELL

*Producer of the documentary films Point Reyes, Maya,
and The Movies Go West and author of articles on motion picture activities
in the West and a new filmscript based on this article.*

THE WORLD'S FIRST MOTION PICTURE EXHIBITION! New York or Hollywood? London or Paris? Strangely enough, it was San Francisco, a city not usually associated with the early film industry, that hosted the premiere movie showing of all time.

And the sponsor of this extraordinary event—again a figure not popularly associated with the entertainment media—was none other than Leland Stanford, governor of California and driver of the final golden spike that linked the converging sections of the transcontinental railroad.

A century ago, San Francisco was separated from the East by a forbidding wilderness, yet it was the cultural center of the Pacific frontier—goal of America's westward course, port for Argosies to wider shores. The city enjoyed a debonaire atmosphere, a zest for drama, and a taste for the arts.

Even so, the audience that assembled in the exhibition rooms of the San Francisco Art Association¹ on that evening of May 4, 1880, could hardly have realized the historical import of what it was about to witness. The Zoogyroscope—for that was its strange name—was to present the first known, recorded public exhibition of the new picture that moved.³ These locally-made photographs, shown as they were on a screen by genuine cinematic projection, were to signal the dawn of a new era in art and entertainment.

The event attained equal status in the theatrical section of the San Francisco *Chronicle* with such stage attractions of the week as Offenbach's *Bluebeard* at the Tivoli, Sardou's *Diplomacy* at the Standard Theater, and, at the Bush Street Theater, the Pacific Coast's opening night of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*. "The Zoogyroscope—Illuminated Photographs in Motion—Admission Fifty Cents," read its advertisement.³ The curious attending received more than a full value for the admission price; they were the first to thrill to a galloping-horse movie chase and, more importantly, to the excitement of the initial screen performance by a human being. It was this inspired presentation that led the San Francisco *Alta California* to prophesy that the Zoogyroscope "laid the foundation for a new method of entertaining the people."

Such a success, however, had required the dogged labor of more than a decade. Unlike modern movies projected by means of a single, continuous strip of film, the Zoogyroscope images were attained by means of sequential transparent images placed around the rim of rotating glass disks and projected rapidly in succession onto a screen, reconstituting living movement.⁴

Yet, even before this, there first had to be the instantaneous photograph.



In the 1881 oil portrait of Leland Stanford (above) by J. L. E. Meissonier, a sheet with the sequential photographs he sponsored is at his side. The Whitmanesque likeness of Muybridge (left) c. 1882 hints at his stormy personality.



On May 4, 1880, the exhibition rooms of the San Francisco Art Association at 430 Pine Street (left) were filled with eager viewers who witnessed the first public showing of cinematically projected pictures that moved. The building, the upper floor of which was shared with the Bohemian Club, burned in 1894.

For the photograph to come alive, the camera must capture action. But the snapshot, so familiar today, did not exist. In the 1870's photography consisted of clumsy, time-consuming, and imprecise operations, so that a split-second photograph had not been possible.⁵ Yet it was just this that Leland Stanford wanted—an instantaneous camera record of one of his thoroughbreds at the gallop.

Stanford's interest in photography is often attributed, according to colorful legend, to a Bonanza bet of \$50,000 in gold on the gait of horses. In fact, there is no record of Stanford ever betting on anything.⁶ Nevertheless, it was his stated contention that for one fleeting moment a trotting steed lifted all four feet off the ground, although he rejected as fallacy traditional theories which likened the animal's position to a rocking horse with its legs reaching forward and straight behind.

To prove his theory, Stanford set out to get photographs of horses in motion. This, in time, he accomplished, but Stanford's contribution to photography had far greater scope, for what may have started casually through a gentleman's argument about equestrian gaits resulted in the world's first split-second photographs. The pictures that he produced at his Palo Alto stock farm not only became a scientific analysis of animal motion but also led to sequential photography capable of recreating movement on the screen and, eventually, to movies as entertainment.

It is significant that the experiments arose not from some frivolous bet, but from Stanford's concern for the improvement of California's livestock and agriculture. This activity followed his many-faceted career commencing with building the first railroad joining the East to the Pacific and culminating with establishing a university.⁷

Scientific breeding and training of horses in order to improve their speed and endurance—in a day when they were central to both farming and transportation—led to Stanford's involvement with gaits.⁸ Although now associated with leisure-time activities, breeding a more efficient animal then was comparable to bringing out a better automobile or tractor today. With characteristic thoroughness, Stanford initiated a study of animal locomotion so as to determine how each stock attained its maximum efficiency.⁹ A horse while running, however, was too fast for the eye to see. Stanford speculated whether the new photograph could obtain stop-action pictures of that which could not be perceived by normal vision. From the photos, Stanford hoped, an analysis could be made of the anatomy of each breed. No one up to this time, however, had yet succeeded in recording rapid motion with a camera, although there had been reports of European attempts to photograph animals and birds.¹⁰

In his search for innovative camera technicians Stanford did not have far to look. Many outstanding photographers resided in San Francisco, remote though it was, for they found the Bay Area ideal for their craft. In addition to the wide variety of beautiful landscapes, the area boasted year-round favorable natural light, and the customary slight moisture in the air helped the developing process.¹¹ Among the area's known photographers, none had the panache of Eadweard Muybridge.

Muybridge had been born in England plain Edward J. Muggeridge. Later he evolved his name to Eadward Muybridge and finally to Eadweard J. Muybridge.

Travelling through the American Far West, he became impressed with its scenic grandeur, and there, with his previous knowledge of the daguerreotype process, he found his true vocation as a professional photographer. Working for the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Muybridge made camera records of Pacific Coast lighthouses and the new Alaskan territory and later gained commercial success with his internationally-distributed popular stereoscopic slide "views."

Not content with studio-bound artificialities, Muybridge had explored nature at first hand, photographing the cloud formations, water reflections, and mossy coastal forests of the Bay region. One of his spectacular achievements was a 360-degree panorama of San Francisco from the top of Mark Hopkins' tower. Often transporting his bulky camera and laboratory equipment by mule, Muybridge assailed wild and inaccessible areas, photographing California's Big Trees, mining activities, and vintages, as well as remote Indian tribes. His landscapes of the wonders of Yosemite Valley, together with those of his compeer, Carleton E. Watkins, greatly influenced public opinion in favor of preserving it as a national park and even today remain among the most magnificent and heroic ever made.¹²

Muybridge's business card boasted "the most complete photographic apparatus in the United States and a wagon completely fitted up as a photographic workroom."¹³ At his *Helios Flying Studio* on Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Muybridge described himself as a "photographic artist." He affected the dress *artistique* and was his own best publicity agent.¹⁴ To some he was a maverick opportunist, to others a picaresque adventurer; certainly he was an original who advanced his art through technical superiority and photographic vision.

It was the California out-of-doors and its spaciousness that brought Muybridge and Stanford together—Muybridge because of its picturesque qualities, Stanford because of its beneficial climate.¹⁵ This same boundlessness was to give movies (in contrast to the cramped artificialities of the theater) the freshness of open sky and the sweep of wide horizons.

Muybridge was skeptical when Stanford first proposed to commission instantaneous photographs of motion. How could the awkward and tedious camera processes of the 1870's transfix a streaking racehorse?¹⁶ But Stanford, who had overcome the insuperable before in engineering a railroad across the granite ramparts of the high Sierra, was not to be dissuaded. The conjunction of the doughty Stanford and the mercurial Muybridge had begun.

Stories differ about who originated and executed the various ideas in the project; confusion remains as well about the dating and financing. One version contends that Muybridge on his own initiative devised the method of photographing objects in motion; another avers that Stanford was the prime mover who independently conceived the enterprise while Muybridge was but an employee who carried out his directions.¹⁷ Conclusive documentation well may have gone up in flames during the San Francisco disaster of April, 1906. There can be no doubt, however, about the results of the project: the founding of a practical basis for cinematography.

The first attempts at photographing fast motion were made during 1872, but the results were "inconclusive."¹⁸ Then, between 1874 and 1876 Muybridge became embroiled in a notorious murder trial involving the shooting death of his

wife's paramour. He was acquitted but decided it wise to absent the country for a time.¹⁹ Upon his return Muybridge discovered that during these intervening years the chemistry for negative plates had improved so that faster exposures were possible. By mid-1877 Muybridge was able to obtain a camera plate, although barely more than a silhouette, of the fast racing-trotter *Occident* at the instant all hoofs were above the track. This encouraged Stanford to order further systematic studies to obtain photographs at short, regular intervals of time so as to document all the consecutive phases of equestrian limb coordinations and relationships during the various positions of a single stride.²⁰

John D. Isaacs, an engineer on the staff of Stanford's railroad, was engaged to facilitate the solution of technical problems. Additional cameras of most-advanced construction were set up along a specially built track on Stanford's Palo Alto Farm to operate in rapid succession. On a background wall along the track opposite the cameras, a numbered grid was added for purposes of identifying each frame and placing them in a series. The persistent cinematic problem of image registration—timing the framing of the arrival of the horses opposite each camera to coincide with the opening of the shutters—was overcome when Isaacs conceived a mechanism employing the new science of electricity. He laid circuits on the tracks that would be activated as the horses ran by and release the shutters in sequence. By 1878 twelve cameras were operating, and soon the number was increased to twenty-four (twenty-four frames per second remains the standard operating speed of motion picture cameras today). Finally, after seasons of toil in the shimmering summer heat, Muybridge and Isaacs and their staff obtained for Stanford the first unposed, instantaneous, sequential photographs of an object in fast motion.²¹

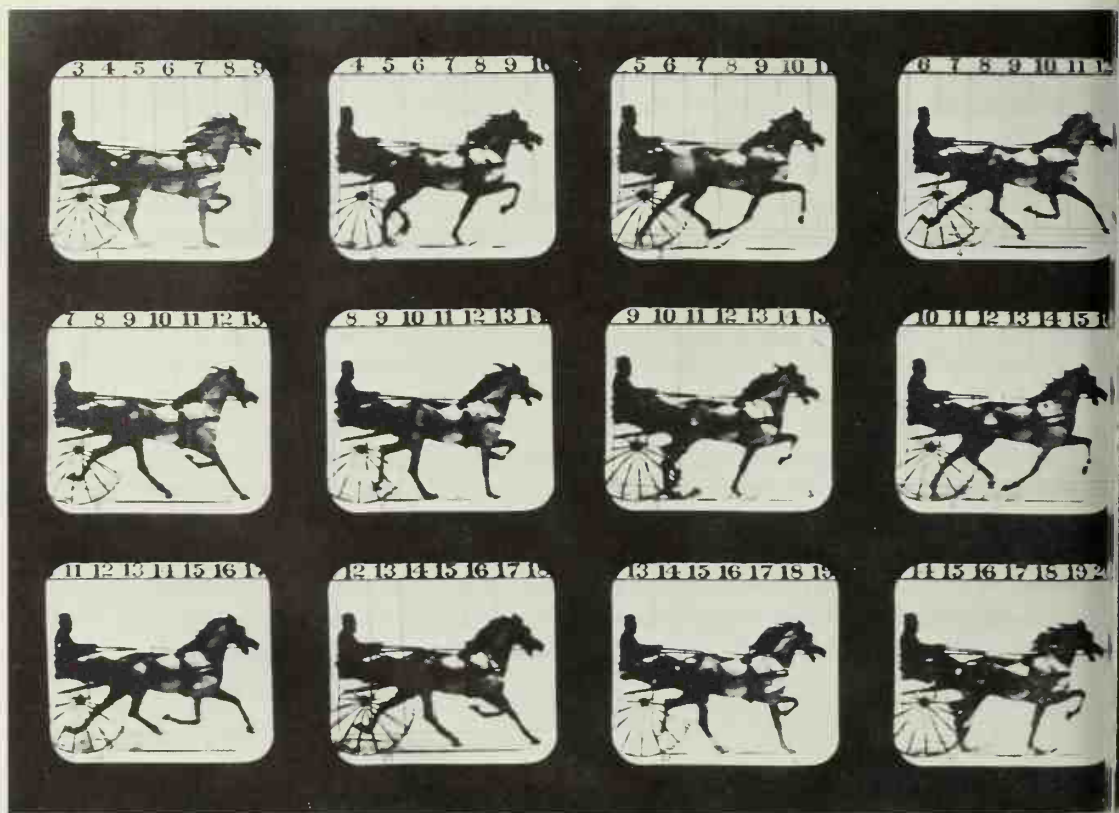
For a demonstration of these unique action pictures, Stanford invited San Francisco newspaper reporters to Palo Alto on the morning of June 15, 1878. Under a brilliant sun, his champions ran the track in front of the battery of cameras, the sounds of the successive shutters clicking like a continuous roll of drums. Individual exposures from the series revealed that a horse, for an instant, did have all its legs off the ground bunched under its belly.²²

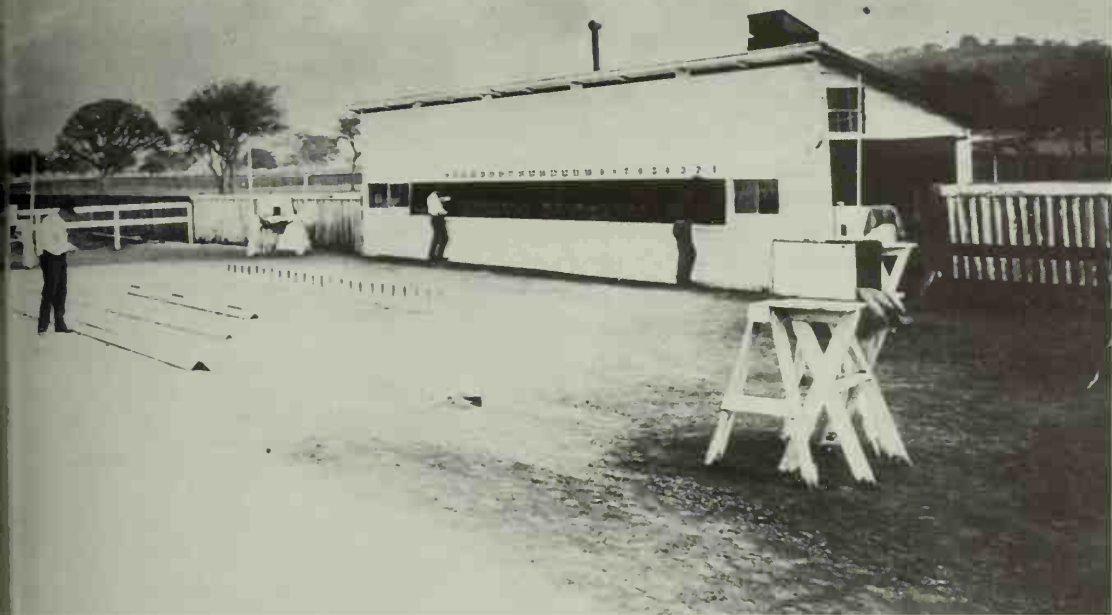
Stanford had proved his theory! The enormous investments in time and money had been worthwhile. They verified Stanford's early assumption concerning gaits, benefited his stables, and revealed considerable new information about animal physiology. Accordingly, the studies were expanded to obtain motion studies of other domestic animals, as well as of wild animals, birds—and even humans.²³

These lightning-quick exposures which required that the camera attain extraordinary high speeds gave great range to the photograph and led directly to the popular hand camera of today. But there was to be more.

During the nineteenth century romanticism was giving way to a more objective world view.²⁴ The new photograph disclosed its subjects in an honest, basic reality and with such convincing authenticity that they exerted a compelling influence on aesthetics. They opened the eyes of viewers to the refreshing charm of the random and the poignancy of the fleeting moment in time, so as to break the spell of salon art's rigid poses.²⁵ The French critic Valéry wrote that the Muybridge studies "lay bare all the mistakes that sculptors and painters had made in

On this experimental track at Stanford's Palo Alto farm (right, Muybridge photo c. 1878), twenty-four sequential, electrically tripped cameras captured "Abe Edgington" (below) trotting in instantaneous, unposed, natural motion.





their renderings.” Even the haughty Paris academies, stuffed with their varnished certified paintings, had to bow to the San Francisco-revealed fresh truth.²⁶ The convincing reality-factor of the photograph, together with the cultural tradition of painting, made the urge to combine them and other visual media irresistible.

For centuries painting had been used to document and to instruct, as well as for its decorative qualities, and since Leonardo masters had striven to depict motion accurately. Later, the projector magic lantern, which dated from about 1650, drew large audiences to highly theatrical “magical” performances which were often presented by means of several projectors and augmented by rear screen projection and incidental music. Animation appeared during the first part of the nineteenth century with such devices as the zoetrope (wheel of life) which whirled drawings into motion, although the effects could be viewed only by one person. Although a toy, the hand-held novelty had a startling power to make its little pictures appear to leap and run. In 1870 Henry Heyl of Philadelphia adventurously photographed a man and a woman in a turn of a waltz and projected translucent prints before an audience, although he could show but a very brief flickering cycle of motion. Each shadowy lineage, moreover, had been a pre-posed time exposure so that Heyl’s sequence was merely a synthetic reconstruction.²⁷ Stimulating. A possibility. But not truly cinematic.

Now to the photograph had been added the popular appeal of projection and animation, as well as a possibility of suggesting some of the scope and sensuous values of painting. These modes—painting, projection, animation, and the photograph—formerly on parallel tracks of development at last were coming together. The next step was to endow the picture with life, to co-join space with time through rapid sequential photographs.

Sequential images of an event in time were the key which led directly into the film cinema of today. These Stanford-sponsored life-motion pictures differed from all others because they sprang from instant consecutive photographs of successive stages of natural, unposed, and continuous events. Made into transparencies and projected in rapid order, each image merged into the next, creating the illusion of living motion on the screen.

It is interesting that when some individual frames were published as separate

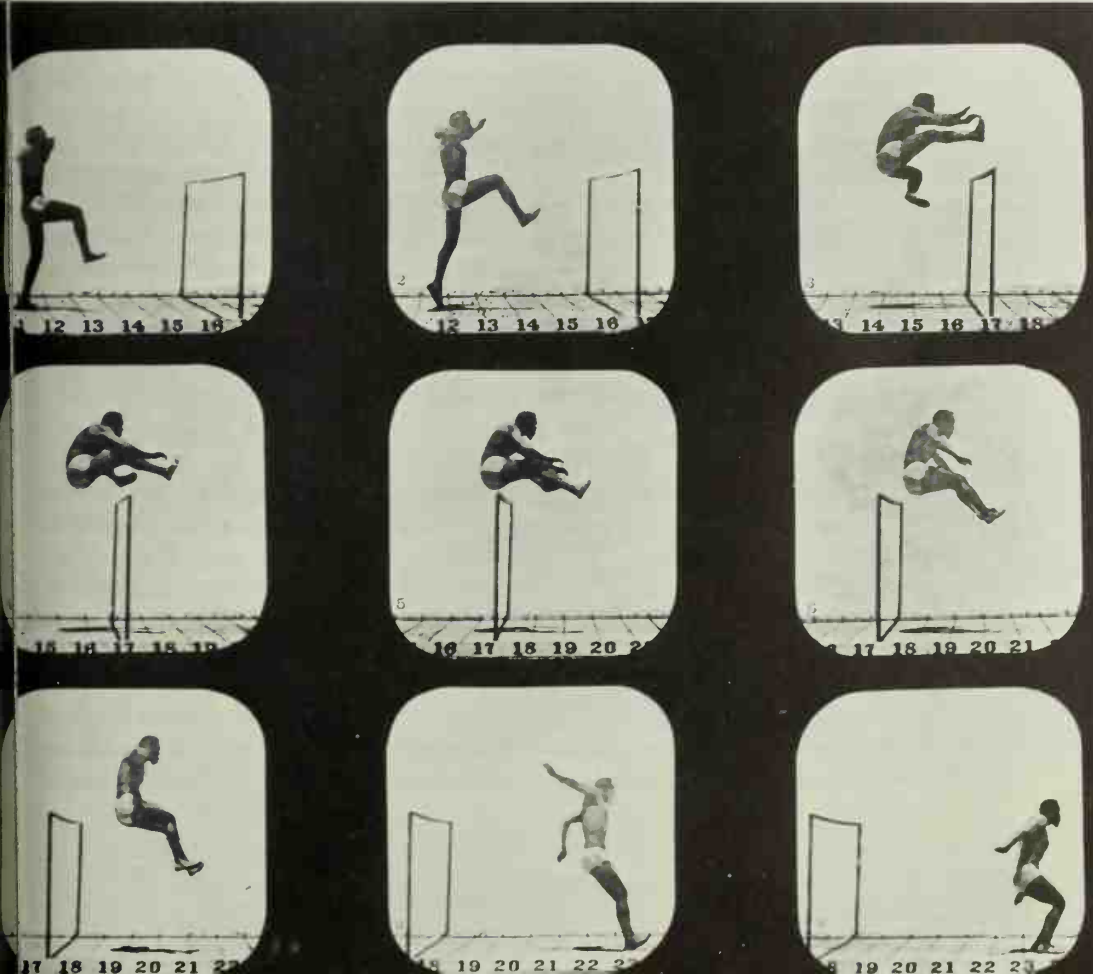
William S. Lawton (right), superintendent of the Olympic Club Gymnasium, performed a back somersault (below) and jumped a high bar (far right) for Muybridge's cameras. These unposed, unbroken actions were recorded by continuous takes of multiple consecutive photographic frames, and Lawton won the distinction of being the earliest known individual to appear in projected motion pictures.



photographs, viewers were incredulous. The positions of the legs of running horses appeared to be grotesque and improbable.²⁸ (To this Stanford replied, "The machine cannot lie.") Yet, shown in a zoetrope, the steed galloped again. All doubts were resolved with animation, so the next step in convincing the public was projection.

Further inventive genius produced the improved intermittent light and the smoother image flow of the Zoogyroscope, the first commercially demonstrated motion picture projector.²⁹ (Because of this advance, George Eastman, less than a decade later, could introduce flexible, transparent motion picture film.)³⁰ By this means at the San Francisco Art Association showing, the photographs taken by Muybridge came to life with stunning effect. The image was first seen immobile and then made animate on the luminous screen in wondrous, undulating, and harmonious movement. The impact of this development is captured by the *Scientific American* of June 5, 1880, which reported after the premiere showing that the Zoogyroscope "threw upon the screen apparently the living, moving animal. Nothing was wanting but the clatter of the hoofs upon the turf and an occasional breath of steam from the nostrils to make the spectator believe that he had before him genuine flesh and blood steeds."

Witnessing the lifelike effects the kinesthetic photographs could produce, Stanford had arranged for athletes from the San Francisco Olympic Club to appear on his motion picture stage as early as 1879. "Men in Motion," exclaimed



the San Francisco *Chronicle* of August 9, 1879, as it described the feats of Mr. William S. Lawton, superintendent of the Olympic Club Gymnasium.³¹ Beginning at 10 A.M. that day, Lawton initiated the action, executing a high jump and a back somersault, both in unposed and unbroken action recorded by continuous takes of multiple consecutive photographic frames. A later *Chronicle* report, following the first exhibition, reported: "Men were made to run across the screen and shown in the acts of jumping and wrestling, the muscular development being admirably shown."

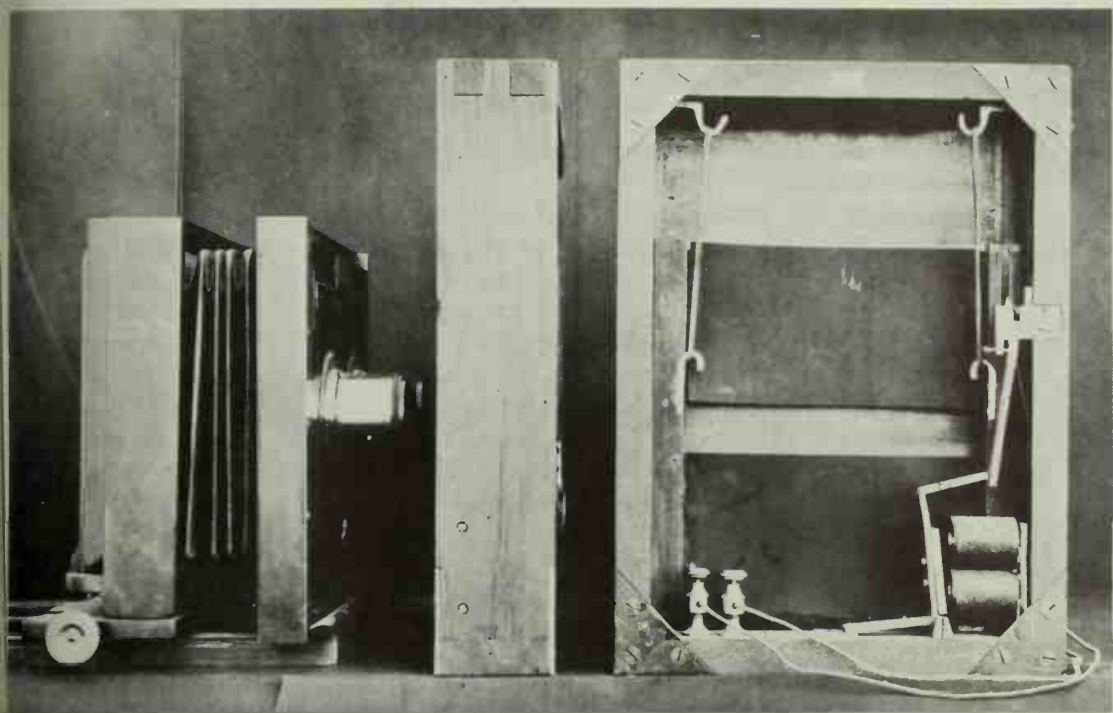
Thus it is that Olympian William S. Lawton of San Francisco holds the historic distinction of being the earliest known individual to appear in motion pictures. That human beings could be presented in vigorous action such as wrestling and somersaults with vitality and grace, "just as if it were all happening in real life," enabled the new medium, in time, to become theatrical entertainment and to bring to the screen the warmth and variety of stories and the great appeal of the dramatic arts.

Stanford felt that his life-motion photographs should be demonstrated abroad, and he prepared the way for Muybridge and the Zoogyroscope (now renamed the Zoopraxiscope) to visit Paris.³² The American marvel became a sensation, and its amazing power to project images traversing a screen in lifelike movement evoked wide comment in European salons.³³ This *réclame* on the Continent and in England apparently led Muybridge to assume that he alone could take credit for having produced this fascinating invention. Indeed, during the early stages of the work in California, he had patented in his own name the method and apparatus for photographing objects in motion.³⁴ Stanford had apparently raised no objection, following the policy he had set for his railroad men to patent any improvements they perfected while in his employ.³⁵

Meanwhile, however, Stanford had delegated the task of compiling a scientific analysis of the photographic phases of motion to Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, his original associate on the project. This detailed opus, *The Horse in Motion*, appeared in 1882. When Muybridge saw the book, he felt that he had not been given sufficient credit (a complaint not unknown in the movie world today). He unhappily commenced legal action, charging that Stanford had injured his professional reputation. Muybridge lost his case.³⁶

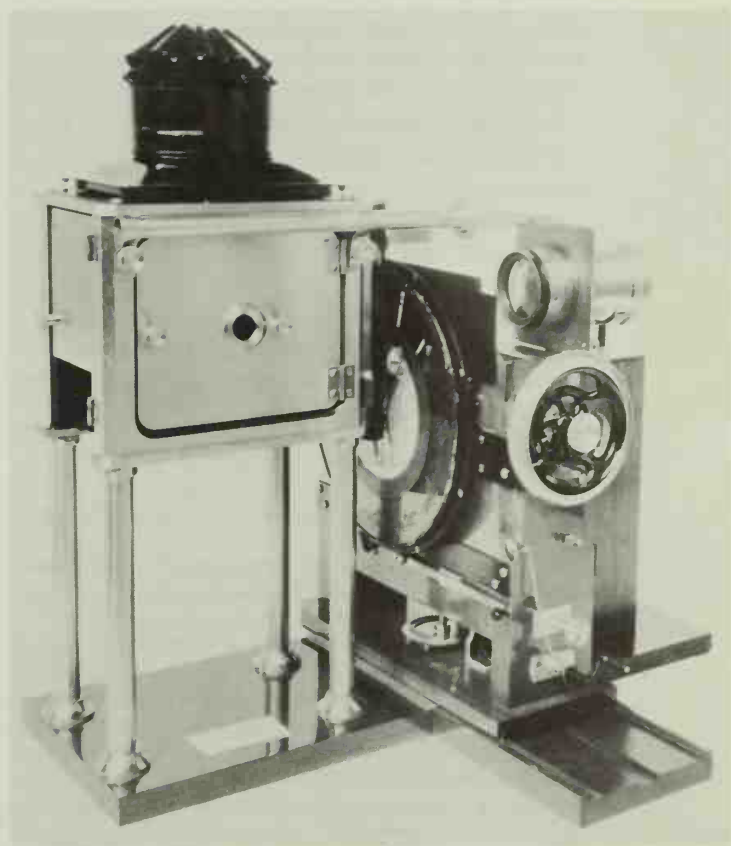
Despite the negative note on which the association ended, during its tenure Muybridge brought to the experiments an enthusiasm and energy that probably surpassed the potential of any other photographer in the West. His years of experience and outstanding artistry were balanced by Stanford's acumen and organizing powers. He operated the cameras at Palo Alto which took the earliest instantaneous photographs of rapid action and at San Francisco first projected motion pictures before the public. Muybridge's work, with that of the other assembled professionals and with an invaluable store of mechanical know-how available from Stanford himself,³⁷ spurred Edison to perfect in 1889 the Kinetoscope, another American advance crucial in the progress to make single-lens, high-speed cinematography a reality.³⁸

Histories of motion pictures tend to minimize Stanford's contribution because he did not consider the camera as more than a recording instrument or have as an objective the attainment of motion pictures as an entertainment medium. In many



The photo (above) shows the type of camera and, to the right, the back of an electro-shutter used in the experiments at Palo Alto. Prior to this the usual practice was simply to remove the lens cap by hand and then to recover the lens at the end of the exposure.

The Zoogyroscope, later called the Zoopraxiscope (right), projected the first public performance of cinematic motion pictures in San Francisco in 1880.



ways, however, his life was no less dramatic, nor less creative in its own way, than that of Muybridge.

Stanford was willing to risk great sums of money to improve photography which neither Muybridge nor any other photographer of the day could have commanded.³⁹ The costs of the experiments are estimated at \$40,000–\$50,000, not including the stock-farm trainers, horses, and equipment which might well multiply the costs by ten times. These facts may not be relevant in considerations of aesthetics, but they were cogent at Palo Alto one hundred years ago, they were crucial for filmmaker D. W. Griffith fifty years later, and they apply with equal weight to film makers today. Throughout history, art has often depended on the creative climate engendered by the rich. Pawnbrokers the Medicis were, yet their soul shines through Florentine culture.

The land with ample space and the best available light for the photographic experiments, the means to fabricate new forms plus the vast technology of a major railroad, the experience in engineering and in executive management (motion pictures are a group activity), and the intuitive wisdom to select the best men for the job—these were the contributions of Leland Stanford, together with the discipline and the persistence to overcome the frustrations and agony of creativity. He seized upon motion—one of the main thrusts of his age—and gave it dynamic expression.

By Pacific shores in a union of power, science, and art, Stanford, Isaacs, and Muybridge proved that the camera could capture photographs of rapidly-moving objects, projected sequential images cinematically, and represented action on the screen for audiences to witness. As a result, a mere sixteen years after the initial Zoogyroscope exhibition, commercial films were running on New York's Broadway.⁴⁰

Such is the history of the first exhibition of motion pictures. On that one spring evening in 1880 at the San Francisco Art Association, the image—no longer static—hesitated, then moved into the flowing and rhythmic marvel of life. When William S. Lawton poised to spring and when Stanford's racing horses flashed across the screen, they heralded a brilliant new language of communication and the first new art form since the Renaissance. The *picture that moved* changed man's vision of his world.

THE PORTRAIT of Eadweard Muybridge on page 126 is courtesy Robert B. Haas; the photo on page 126 (top), courtesy the Stanford Collection, Stanford University Museum of Art; and the photos on pages 130–131 and 135 (top), courtesy the Muybridge Collection, Stanford University Museum of Art. The photos on pages 132 (bottom) and 133, are from the exhibition *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872–1882*. The illustration on page 126 (bottom) is from the San Francisco History Room and Special Collections, San Francisco Public Library; the photo on page 135 (bottom) is courtesy the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames Museum and Art Gallery; and the portrait of Lawton on page 132 (top) is from the California Historical Society Collections.

NOTES

1. The San Francisco Art Association was then located at 430 Pine Street, between Montgomery and Kearny streets. Also at the same address was the Bohemian Club.
2. This event was reported in the May 5, 1880, editions of the *San Francisco Morning Call*, *Chronicle*, and *Alta California*.
3. *San Francisco Chronicle*, under "Amusements," May 6, 1880, and following days.
4. Described by Eadweard Muybridge, although a somewhat later version, in his Preface to *Animals in Motion* (London, 1899).
5. The camera itself was unwieldy and lacked accurate shutters. Each photograph involved a series of intricate manipulations, often in darkness, including: mixing a collodion emulsion just prior to each operation and applying it to the glass negative plate, exposing while the solution was tacky, and developing the negative immediately in a series of solutions. For exterior scenes, a darkroom tent and wet chemicals had to be transported to the site. And, the subject had to be motionless. See Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 47-48 (New York, 1964); Helmut Gernsheim, *The History of Photography*, 151-65 (New York, 1955).
6. George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford*, 365 (Stanford, 1931); Norman E. Tutorow, *Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers*, 172 (Menlo Park, 1971); H. C. Peterson, "The Birthplace of the Motion Picture," *Sunset*, November, 1915.
7. In addition to being the president of the Central Pacific Railroad, governor of California, and founder of Stanford University, Stanford was an attorney-at-law, twice a U.S. senator, and a warm friend of President Lincoln. Other activities included promoting a first Sacramento public library, the San Francisco California Street cable cars, the California wine industry, forest conservation, directing the foremost livestock stable of its day, and being the first individual to train animals by personalized methods. See Clark, *Stanford*, 189, 113, 389, 35, 426, 68, 341, 350, 353; Tutorow, *Stanford*, 56, 184-99.
8. Clark, *Stanford*, 341-63; Peterson, "Birthplace of the Motion Picture."
9. Stanford was joined by Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, A.M., M.D., and others. Stillman arrived in California during 1848 and published *Seeking the Golden Fleece* in 1877.
10. Notably by Etienne J. Marey. Gernsheim, *History*, 325.
11. B. E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876).
12. The panorama of San Francisco, c. 1878, in part, has been enlarged into a mural installed at the Wells Fargo Bank, 420 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, and may be viewed upon application to their History Room. Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge, 1830-1904," in exhibition catalogue *Eadweard Muybridge, the Stanford Years, 1872-1882*, pp. 11-17 (Stanford, 1972); Anita Ventura Mozley, "Photographs by Muybridge, 1872-1880," in same exhibition catalogue, 37-53; Mary V. Jessup Hood and Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 42:5-26 (March, 1963); Alfred Frankenstein, "Surveys on the Beginnings of Film," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 1972, p. 53; Kenneth MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 47-52 (New York, 1965); Gernsheim, *History*, 325-26.
13. California Section collections, State Library, Sacramento.
14. Photographs of Muybridge at the peak of his career have been described as portraying Muybridge as looking somewhere between "Walt Whitman ready to play King Lear," and "God the Father in Blake's illustrations." MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 47; Gernsheim, *History*, 331.
15. Clark, *Stanford*, 342; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 8.
16. Eadweard Muybridge to Editor, *Alta California*, published August 2, 1877; Leland Stanford to Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, October 23, 1882, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 377.
17. Haas, *Muybridge*, 11; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 46ff. When Muybridge delivered the album of photographs to Stanford in 1881, he wrote: "Herewith please find the photographs illustrating the attitudes of animals in motion executed by me according to your instructions at Palo Alto in 1878 and 1879." Clark, *Stanford*, 370.
18. Muybridge, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 366.

19. *Calistoga Free Press*, October 24, 1874; *Napa Daily Register*, February 6, 1875. During his enforced absence, Muybridge produced a series of remarkable views of Central America. Mozley, *Muybridge*, 55-59.
20. *San Francisco Evening Post*, August 3, 1877; Clark, *Stanford*, 366.
21. Light-sensitive, dry roll flexible film, capable of rapid transport, had yet to be invented; it was still necessary to align each separate glass negative plate within an equal number of separate cameras. J. D. B. Stillman, Appendix to *The Horse in Motion*, 124-26 (Boston, 1882); Walter R. Miles, "Leland Stanford and Motion Pictures," *Stanford Illustrated Review*, June, 1929, p. 469-72; Gernsheim, *History*, 327-28; Haas, *Muybridge*, 21-24; Clark, *Stanford*, 367.
22. Beaumont Newhall, "Muybridge and the First Motion Picture," *U.S. Camera—1957*, p. 239-39; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 69.
23. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1880; Stillman, *Horse in Motion*, 125.
24. Hilton Kramer, "Muybridge, A Pioneer in Photography," *New York Times*, May 11, 1973, p. 24.
25. Edward Weston, "Photographic Art," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, 1971, p. 943.
26. Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Marcy, Muybridge, and Meissonier," in catalog *Muybridge*, 85-106. The eminent Parisian artist Meissonier was one of the first to alter his equestrian and historic paintings. Even more directly influenced were illustrators for periodicals throughout the world.
27. C. W. Ceram, *Archaeology of the Cinema*, 9-140 (New York, 1965); Arthur Knight, "Motion Pictures, I—History," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, 1971, pp. 898-899; Gernsheim, *History*, 328-29; Martin Quigley, *Magic Shadows*, 98-117 (New York, 1960).
28. Gernsheim, *History*, 328.
29. Haas, *Muybridge*, 25-26; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 71-72; Gernsheim, *History*, 329. Other experimental motion and projection devices of the day were similarly emblazoned with fashionable classically-derived names: Anorthoscope, Thaumatrope, Phenakistiscope, Phantasmagoria, Thaumatrope, Stroboscope, Daedelum, Praxinoscope, Chromotrope, and, of course, the Zoetrope. Ceram, *Archaeology*, 13-73; Gernsheim, *History*, 328; Mozley, *Muybridge*, 72-73; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 30-47.
30. September 2, 1889, from files of Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York.
31. *The History of the Olympic Club* (San Francisco, 1893). W. S. Lawton, a charter member of the Olympic Club, founded in 1860, is referred to as one of the club's finest all-around gymnasts. His name appears in the San Francisco city directories until 1887.
32. *Scientific American Supplement*, January 28, 1882; Haas, *Muybridge*, 26; Miles, "Stanford and Motion Pictures," 470.
33. Forester-Hahn, *Muybridge*, 85-106; Gernsheim, *History*, 329-330.
34. U.S. Patent Office numbers 212,864, and 212,865 of March 4, 1879.
35. Clark, *Stanford*, 367.
36. Leland Stanford to Dr. Stillman, October 23, 1882, quoted in Clark, *Stanford*, 277. Muybridge also commenced a suit by attachment on the books against Osgood, Stanford's publisher. While in the United States he had initiated other suits against American firms, including a stage-coach company and a steamship company. Newhall, *Camera*, 235; Peterson, *Sunset*, November, 1915.
- Muybridge later found another American to finance his projects and for the remainder of his life continued on a more elaborate scale the momentum originated at Palo Alto. Stanford considered Muybridge to be the instrument who carried out his ideas, but Stanford's attention was elsewhere. He was by then dedicated to providing a foundation for higher education in California.
37. Other associates were the chief engineer of the Central Pacific Railroad, Mr. S. Montague, and Arthur Brown, also from the railroad, as well as electrical experts Sieler and Tiffany. Haas, *Muybridge*, 21-22.
38. The history of the long series of inventions, with all the claims and counterclaims, is complex in the extreme. See Knight, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, 898ff; Ceram, *Archaeology*, 13-1921; Gernsheim, *History*, 227-332; MacGowan, *Behind the Screen*, 53-84.
39. Forester-Hahn, *Muybridge*, 107; Tutorow, *Stanford*, 168; Haas, *Stanford*, 24.
40. The first projection of motion picture films in the United States as theatrical entertainment took place at Koster & Bial's Music Hall, 34th Street West of Broadway, New York, on April 23, 1896.

California's Pioneer Wine Families

JULIUS L. JACOBS

*Author and editor of numerous articles
on winegrowing and wine production trends in California*

IN THE COURSE OF CREATING A NEW STATE, adjusting to the influx of settlers, and discovering sources of natural wealth, early-day Californians chanced upon another most valuable and enjoyable resource—wine. Viticulture, or the cultivation of the vine, and enology, or the making of wine, emerged from the primitive days of the Franciscan fathers to become one of the state's dominant agricultural pursuits in the mid-nineteenth century. The industry continued its gains in the twentieth century, although it suffered an enormous setback with the advent of Prohibition. Following Repeal in 1933, winegrowing in California regained its status and has emerged today as a multi-billion dollar agricultural occupation.

Since the days prior to and immediately following the Civil War, a small, hardy cluster of winegrowing families has persevered in the cultivation of grapes and production of wine. The roster of families already in the wine business by the 1840's and those who entered into this exacting and hazardous trade by the 1880's is small. The number whose descendants still farm the land and crush the grapes is minuscule: the Bianes, the Mirassous, the Wentes, and the Concannons. To be sure, a number of other familiar wineries boast of vineyards and bonded wine facilities going back a century or longer, but these have long since passed from the hands of their original founders and owners. Thus, it is significant to retrace the backgrounds, experiences, and development of the basic quartet of wine-makers still perpetuating and developing its vintner skills into the fourth and fifth generations and to determine how and why they have managed to survive and prosper. The dynamism that marked the entry of California into the national and international wine scene exists today in a strong and more durable framework, thanks to these early-day grape growers and vintners. If anything, the wine excitement has been accentuated; scores of picturesque new wineries, large and small, have entered the ranks, and they are staffed by dedicated people who love the land, love wine, and are willing to accept the risks in order to become part of the winegrowing fraternity.

NOTE: The author acknowledges a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Irving McKee, who in the 1940's and early 1950's conducted exhaustive research into the history and development of the state's wine pioneers and wine industry. Many of McKee's important articles have been reprinted by the Wine Institute, San Francisco. Paul Fredericksen's comprehensive research study for the Wine Advisory Board, "The Authentic Haraszthy Story," originally published in *Wines and Vines*, August, 1947, is another important work for the study of California wine production.

The history of winegrowing in California began in the eighteenth century with the Franciscan fathers who first made wine at the string of missions established from the southerly settlement of San Diego in 1769 to the northernmost Sonoma mission in the 1820's. Unfortunately, their wines were not good wines. They were made with the Mission grape, an inferior specimen believed to have been first brought north by Father Junípero Serra. It had been grown for a lengthy period in Mexico, and when transplanted to the California missions, it produced a harsh, probably unpleasant wine. It was used primarily in sacramental services and to assuage the thirst of the early travellers.

Following upon the experimental efforts of the Franciscans, commercial wine-making in California probably began in the tiny Los Angeles pueblo between 1824 and 1826. The Spanish authorities abandoned expansion of the missions along the El Camino Real and secularized them in the 1820's and 1830's. At the time of secularization, there were said to be at least 100,000 grapevines growing in what is now Los Angeles.

Joseph Chapman, an ambitious vineyardist, is regarded as California's earliest wine pioneer, and he is the most identifiable figure in the post-mission wine trade.¹ Friend of Padre Sánchez and a jack-of-all-trades, Chapman set out 4,000 vines in the southern pueblo of Los Angeles. When he moved to Santa Barbara in 1836, his reputation as the first American winegrower in California was already secure. His planting originally had taken place in 1824-1826, with the first vintage probably in 1827. Others soon followed: Frenchman Louis Bouchet in 1829, then William Logan, Richard Laughlin, and William Chard in the early 1830's.² By 1831 there were declared to be about 100 acres planted in the Los Angeles area.

The most important figure in early-day California viticulture was Jean Louis Vignes, a Frenchman from Bordeaux. He, rather than Chapman, has been described by some as California's pioneer winegrower, for his debut onto the California wine scene in 1831 occurred just sixty-two years after the arrival of the Spanish Franciscans.³ Trained as a distiller and cooper, Vignes emigrated to the United States and settled in the Los Angeles pueblo. Within two years he set out his vineyard, joining at least four or five other ambitious vineyardists in this same region. His own plot consisted of 104 acres west of the river in what is now the heart of downtown Los Angeles. Up to this time only the Mission-grape variety had been cultivated in California, because this was the variety planted by the mission fathers. (This was the Mexican Criolla type of grape which had become known as the Mission in California.⁴) The grape made a thin, rather harsh wine and was soon to be superseded by much better varieties. Vignes was probably the first settler to import cuttings of European varieties. He also was the first to speculate on a great future in California for wines and for citrus fruits, as well. Vignes' friend, wine merchant William Heath Davis, wrote about him as early as 1833 that "he imported cuttings of different varieties of grapes in small quantity, which were then put up with great care and sent from France to Boston, thence to the coast by vessels trading here, to be experimented with in wine producing. I regard him as the pioneer not only in winemaking but in orange cultivation, he being the first to raise oranges in Los Angeles and to establish a vineyard of any pretensions."⁵ While the exact year of Vignes' first vintage can only

be speculated upon, it must have been by 1837, for an 1857 advertisement for some of his vintages reported them to be twenty years old. Davis recorded as well that the vineyardist-vintner had written friends in France about the great potential for winegrowing in California and predicted that the state would have a wine industry equal to that of France in quality and quantity and including wines of all types and styles.

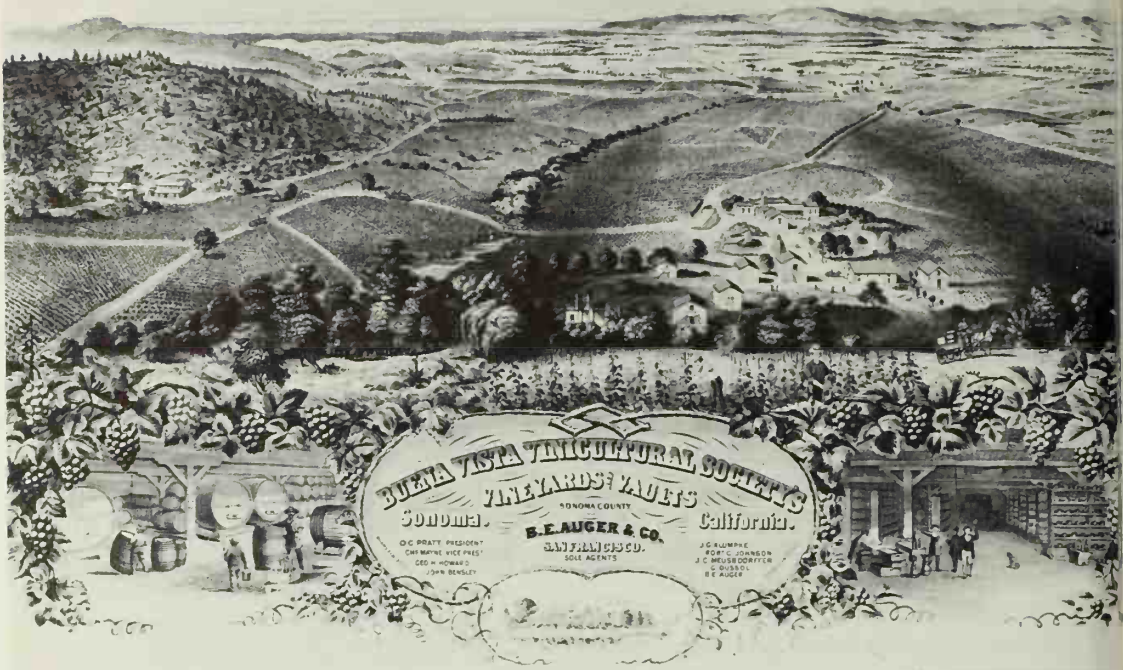
In addition to Vignes' experimental efforts, he successfully induced other Frenchmen to travel to the Far West. In fact, he influenced at least eight of his own relatives to emigrate to California, including Pierre Sainsevain from the Bordeaux region, who joined his uncle in 1839. Young Sainsevain, age twenty-one, played a vital role in the continuity of the early-day California wine industry. He wrote that he found in his uncle's vineyard some 40,000 vines, a good wine cellar, and some sturdy casks. Vignes had named his property the Aliso Vineyard, after a sycamore tree near the entrance. The winery soon became well-known throughout Southern California, and eleven years later Sainsevain also gained recognition. He loaded a sailing vessel, the *Monsoon*, with Vignes' brandies and wines and embarked for Monterey and San Francisco by way of Santa Barbara. He found a good market for the cargo, obtaining \$2 a gallon for the white wines and \$4 a gallon for brandy. This was the first known shipment of California wines over any considerable distance.⁶

By the year 1843 Vignes had become the most widely known winegrower in California, and his production reached 40,000 gallons a year. While entertaining Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, who became prominent during the conquest of California some years later, Vignes presented the commodore and his officers with a variety of his wines, some aged as long as eight to ten years. (There is a tale to the effect that the vintner also presented Commodore Jones with a gift of wines to be taken to President Tyler at the White House, but there is no record to confirm that "several barrels of choice wines" were ever received by the president). Thanks to the diligence and hard work of Vignes and his fellow vintners in the 1840's and early 1850's, Los Angeles became the major region for California winegrowing, its production having been recorded as 57,355 gallons in the United States Census of 1850.⁷ At that time the nearest competitor in wine production was Guernsey County, Ohio, with 35,000 gallons.

Two other wine pioneers furthered the development of the California wine industry and enhanced the progress recorded by Chapman and Vignes in the

This little building in the rear of Mission San Gabriel housed the first winery in California. As early as 1771, padres trained neophytes to produce sacramental wine from mission grapes.





Colonel Agoston Haraszthy (left) ranks of major importance in establishing the state's wine industry for proving the value of imported grape cuttings and the feasibility of growing them on unirrigated land in the Sonoma region. In the 1850's Haraszthy named his white Italianate villa (opposite page, top) and vineyards Buena Vista and induced friends and neighbors to embark on the experimental venture of producing fine wines. Buena Vista wines, brandy, and even some vinegar, publicized (above) in the bird's eye lithographic view, were distributed to the growing San Francisco market.



General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the first non-clerical wine grower in the Sonoma Valley, dominated Northern California wine producing for the quarter-century period, 1834-1859, until Haraszthy entered the friendly competition cemented by the marriage of Haraszthy's two sons and Vallejo's two daughters.



establishment of commercial vineyards. One was General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo; the other was his companion and enthusiastic winegrower, Agoston Haraszthy, a Hungarian nobleman. General Vallejo was the first non-clerical winegrower in the Sonoma Valley, and he dominated Northern California wine production for the quarter-century period, 1834-1859. The first cultivated vines of this region had been planted by Padre José Altimira in 1824, one year after he founded the Sonoma mission. Several years later when his mission and others were appropriated by the Mexican government, both the vineyards and their wineries fell into decrepitude.⁸

General Vallejo at the age of twenty-six was already the commandante of the California army and the second most important figure in the Mexican state. At the order of the governor, Vallejo laid out the pueblo of Sonoma. Several of the original buildings—a two-story military barracks, small residences, and the Sonoma mission itself—may still be visited today. It was here that the general acquired what was left of the ruined missionary vineyards. Under his vigilant eye

the vineyards were replanted, and by 1839 wine once again was being produced in this new region of California. General Vallejo's power and influence grew; by 1843 he possessed a huge Mexican grant of 80,000 acres on the shores of Suisun and San Pablo bays, in addition to other lands around Petaluma and Sonoma. He now personally owned more than 150,000 acres, much of which was unusable. Some land was devoted to grazing cattle and other to raising crops, but the general never lost sight of his vineyards which yielded him \$20,000 annually.

Only one man constituted any sort of "threat" to Vallejo's winegrowing supremacy in the following decade. He was Colonel Haraszthy, a figure destined to gain a lasting reputation as the "father of California's modern wine industry." Agoston Haraszthy, who came to California in 1849 at the age of thirty-seven, joined Vallejo in friendly competition in the Sonoma region in 1854. The trail of the Hungarian wanderer had led from his native land to Sauk City, Wisconsin, and in 1851 he imported vines from Hungary to San Diego. One year later he moved to Northern California and transplanted his precious vines to the Crystal Springs region in the foothills of what is today San Mateo County. (Haraszthy had become a member of the state legislature and lived in San Francisco.) His next step was to acquire 200 acres of land near the Mission Dolores, where he planted Zinfandel vines along with the Muscat of Alexandria, a grape variety imported from Malaga. Although the Zinfandel grapes were said to have come from the colonel's native Hungary, viticulturists today are uncertain about the origin of this excellent grape variety. There is evidence that the variety existed in California prior to its planting by Haraszthy.⁹

Haraszthy was a restless man. Within a few years he purchased the Kelsey vineyard in Sonoma, made this his home, and soon gained a wide reputation as a vineyardist and winemaker. Until this time his efforts in this new venture had been largely experimental. Now, however, Haraszthy began the systematic and steady acquisition of imported varieties which was destined to make him the leading wine figure of his time. He proved the value of imported grape cuttings and illustrated the feasibility of growing them on non-irrigated vineyards in this section of California. With customary energy, and the aid of his sons, Attila and Arpad, Haraszthy planted 80,000 vines on 140 acres of land east of Sonoma in a single year—13,000 vines on his own property and 67,000 vines on property which belonged to friends and neighbors, many of whom he had induced to settle around him. Among those who came to the area in that year, 1857, or in later years were early-day vineyardists including Colonel A. J. Butler, Major J. R. Snyder, Charles Krug, Emil Dresel, Jacob Gundlach, and George Wratten. Under the colonel's leadership, this group experimented boldly, and their success complemented Haraszthy's efforts.¹⁰ Haraszthy built a handsome white Italianate villa with formal gardens and called his new residence and vineyard Buena Vista.

For the next quarter-century the history of California wine was intertwined with that of the Haraszthy family—the colonel and later with his two sons Arpad and Attila, both of whom became active in the industry. In 1857 Haraszthy dug his first stone cellar on his Buena Vista property, an excavation reported by the *Santa Rosa Democrat* as . . . "a tunnel, 100 feet deep, made in a hillside."¹¹ The Haraszthys also produced 6,500 gallons of wine, a quantity of brandy, and even some vinegar, for which a good market existed in nearby San Francisco.

Colonel Haraszthy also continued to import grape cuttings from Europe, and his fame spread. Receiving a request from the California Agricultural Society to write an article on growing grapes and wine, he completed his "Report on Grapes and Wine in California," which was printed and circulated by the society in 1859. The article launched a new cycle of grape plantings in other districts. By the end of 1858 Haraszthy himself claimed 158 different varieties of grape cuttings at Buena Vista, and he offered many cuttings and rooted vines for sale.

Annual competition in wines had developed at the State Fair, and when the Haraszthy wines were entered, they captured first place.¹² Somewhat unusual in the Hungarian settler's operations was his employment of Chinese laborers to work his vineyards and winery, a practice which soon became common in the Sonoma area. It is reported that the deep tunnels used today at Buena Vista Winery were dug by these same Chinese laborers.

Colonel Haraszthy bore the title of count (although the origins of his noble Hungarian lineage are shrouded in mystery) and became a close friend and confidante of General Vallejo in their mutual vineyard enterprises. Making their friendship even more apparent was a double marriage ceremony in 1863 wherein Haraszthy's two sons married two of General Vallejo's daughters, Natalia and Jovita. The ceremony occurred at Lachryma Montis, the Vallejo mansion. The rivalry between the two gentlemen concerning their respective winemaking abilities continued, however, and in 1851 Vallejo scored when his red and white table wines captured five first-place awards at the State Fair.

The climax of Haraszthy's career came in 1861 when the colonel was named by Governor John G. Downey to visit Europe as a special agricultural commissioner

In this 1878 lithograph Chinese laborers are producing Sonoma wines.



for California. He was assigned to study and learn all he could about grape growing and wine production in Europe and to report back to the state legislature all the knowledge he gained for the benefit of the grape and winegrowing industry. Ironically, Haraszthy paid all of the costs for his trip, unsuccessfully petitioning for reimbursement in the amount of \$12,000 for grape cuttings acquired and brought to California. (A senate committee on agriculture in 1862 divided three to two in a vote over the issue of repayment, and restitution was denied.)

Reporting to the governor in February, 1862, about his new information and activities, Haraszthy advised, "I have taken charge of the grapevines and fruit trees arrived from Europe . . . am at present occupied in making hotbeds and planting the more exquisite varieties in pots . . . we have a large number of cuttings which I am planting in open air for rooting, confident that if no extraordinary event happens there will be 300,000 rooted vines ready for distribution next Fall."¹³ His report to the legislature is optimistic about wine growing conditions in California; he maintained, in fact, that "California is superior in all the conditions of soil, climate and other natural advantages to the most favored wine producing regions of Europe." True to his optimism, he claimed he had purchased about 10,000 vines of approximately 1,400 varieties, eliminated duplicate vines, and reduced the number of varieties to 300. He also acquired other fruits and brought back choice selections of almonds, olives, oranges, figs, lemons, and others, to be propagated by grafting.

While Haraszthy lost his battle for distribution of cuttings to all parts of the state and for reimbursement for his expenses, his trip to Europe was a success, and from the standpoint of modern agricultural history marked a turning point in the state's grape and wine industry. Although rebuffed by the senate committee in 1862, just a week later the innovative Haraszthy became the president of the State Agricultural Society. In the years following, the energetic wine enthusiast continued propagating the best vines and travelled broadly throughout California to discuss grape growing methods and to amplify his views concerning the best regions for planting vines. His book, *Grape Culture, Wines and Wine-Making, with Notes upon Agriculture and Horticulture*, appeared in 1862 and acted as an incentive for others interested in grapes and wines. Further, his busy and active career marked a coming of age for California viticulture. New vineyards were established in both southern and northern sections of California. Improved varieties took hold, and as agriculture became better established as a way of life, hundreds of vineyardists began cultivation of vines and processing of grapes. Of great assistance in later years of the nineteenth century was the University of California's extensive experimentation under the banner of the college of agriculture, later to become the viticulture and enology department of the university based at Davis.

The early efforts of Chapman, Vignes, Sainsevain, Vallejo, Haraszthy, and numerous other early-day pioneers such as George Yount (for whom Yountville was named) attracted new names and faces to the prospects of success in the Napa and Livermore valleys, the Santa Clara region, the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, the Santa Cruz area—and even the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. One result of the Gold Rush period and its aftermath was the rapid influx of knowledgeable Europeans, particularly to Northern California, many of whom brought

skills in establishing vineyards and producing good wine. Prices remained high, and the state legislature encouraged the industry in its fledgling years by exempting new vineyards from taxes.¹⁴

Almost 150 years after the beginnings of commercial winegrowing in California, a select number of families still remain in business whose proud wine roots go back as far as the early 1830-1880's period. One Southern California family now boasts the fifth generation of winemakers active in the production of wine, while in three Northern California families the third and fourth generation either manage the wineries and vineyards or are being groomed to take over the responsibilities. According to Philo Biane, the Vaché family (from which the Biane family descended) arrived in Southern California in 1832; the Mirassou, Wentz, and Concannon families set up operations in Northern California's Santa Clara and Livermore valleys in the decades which followed.

Lured by the promise of wealth in the New World, Theophile Vaché, owner of vineyards and a winery on the Isle of Oléron off the Bordeaux coast, sailed around the Horn to California. He established a wine business and planted the historic Valliant Vineyards near San Juan Bautista. Three nephews later joined Vaché, Adolphe, Emile, and Theophile II. Impressed by the wine activity in Southern California, they utilized the resources they had brought from their winegrowing ventures in France and established themselves as vintners in Los Angeles and Redlands, forming a family-owned wholesale, retail, and brandy business. Years of winegrowing and winemaking had already been logged when the family opened a winery at the corner of Commercial and Alameda streets in Los Angeles in 1860.

The patriarch of the Biane Family, Philo Biane, recently described the continuity of the Vaché-Biane winegrowing history in an oral history interview:

The brothers decided to go to San Bernardino and Redlands to plant their vineyards; and the first year of operation there they operated at Dr. (Benjamin) Barton's winery in southeast San Bernardino, in the year 1882. And then, by the year 1883, the winery at Brookside was completed and that was the first vintage year at Redlands. That winery continued under the direction of Emile Vaché. This is where my father, Marius Biane, came into the picture as an employee of the Vaches. He came from the town of Auch, France. He went to school for a year, then worked at the winery. After he became part owner he married my mother, who was Marceline Vaché. Dad, being a young, energetic and able man from France, and also from the wine business in France, soon took over the operation of the winery at Brookside and continued to operate there until 1916, which was about the time Prohibition was voted in on a local level.¹⁵

Once Theophile, the founder, had seen to it that his nephews had successfully established themselves, he returned to France, sometime in the late 1850's or early 1860's.

The family remaining on the Ile d'Oléron continued to operate a winery, a concentration plant, and a vinegar facility. In California Emile continued his management, taking in Marius Biane upon his arrival from France in 1892. When a local prohibition ordinance halted winemaking, there occurred a hiatus in the winery's production, and the plant was dismantled, but Marius Biane simply moved to the nearby Cucamonga area where there was no Prohibition ordinance. There he ran a vineyard and winery owned by the firm of Post & Klusman (John H. Klusman) and later, when the winery was sold, Biane and his son Philo went



to work for another winery, the Cucamonga Growers (Cooperative) Winery, where the elder Biane was president and another brother, Francois Biane, production manager.¹⁶

The advent of Prohibition brought change to wine ownerships and cooperative wine ventures. In the latter part of 1916 when Marius Biane moved to Cucamonga, he invested in vineyard property. His son Philo became associated with Fruit Industries, which was comprised of a number of wineries operating throughout California. This organization, according to Philo, was "born of necessity in trying to find utilization (during Prohibition) for the wine grapes in California, rather than just let them hang on the vine with no use."¹⁷ It was a unique nationwide marketing effort designed for the Prohibition era and an ingenious system designed to circumvent the entire destruction of the state's vineyards and the grape crop. Grapes were squeezed and the juice made into concentrate, thereby keeping the fruit in a fresh form without fermentation taking place.

As Philo Biane recalled,

Later during the year, when a use for this concentrate was found, it could be 'cut' with water and converted to wine. The method of doing this was to sell the product throughout the United States in the way of wine; however, it would be delivered to the consumer's home in concentrated form in a barrel, then water added at the home and inoculated with yeast, and fermentation would take place and develop the reconstituted grape juice into wine. The concentrates were blended beforehand from various varieties of grapes to produce the different types of wine one might desire. A serviceman would come to the house and rack that juice off the barrel and filter it and bottle it for



Frenchman Theophile Vaché and his nephews Adolphe, Emile (opposite page, foreground), and Theophile, Jr., established the Southern California winery in Redlands (above) in the early 1880's. Marius Biane (on ladder next to the pot still for producing brandy) soon joined the operation.



A wine-trained Frenchman who took over Brookside operations and married into the Vaché family, Marius Biane (right, photo c.1946) carried on the Brookside tradition.

you in your home, and you had wine. Whatever you may have ordered—Port, Muscatel, Sherry, or Burgundy or Sauterne. This was a nationwide marketing effort, and it was successful because the wines produced were excellent.¹⁸

The stratagem of Fruit Industries was entirely legal. In fact, the government loaned the new California organization funds to produce the fruit juice concentrate. During Prohibition, federal law allowed each head of a family to make 200 gallons of wine for home use each year, and this was the basis for the manufacture and sale of concentrates.

With an eye to Repeal, however, the Biane family maintained its vineyard holdings during Prohibition and continued to do so after Repeal. When Philo ended his years of service with other wine companies, he once again constructed a family winery at Brookside, close to the acreage planted in his vineyards. Still active were the elder Biane, Marius, and brother, François, who was winemaker and superintendent of the winery. The Biances purchased an altar wine label from a winery in Guasti and with it the diocese bishop's approval to enter into the sacramental wine business.¹⁹ In 1954, after grape growers of the area sold their grapes to the Biances, Brookside became a cooperative winery where purchased grapes were taken into a "pool" and the growers compensated for their fruit at the end of the harvest season when prices became known. With the acquisition of a Guasti

wine label, the Biances not only utilized the Brookside label but also a clerical label—"Assumption Abbey."

Seeking to expand their operations after World War II and realizing that tradition and past practices alone would not insure successful operations in a rapidly changing and expanding market, the Biane family began urging their customers to learn more about wines by tasting them prior to purchase. This led to their decision to establish branch-winery sales, a major contribution to California wine marketing concepts. Today this concept is basic to the Brookside-Biane enterprises in California and Arizona and has been incorporated by other wine companies. The premise of the approach is that wine sampling in a suitable atmosphere prior to selection leads to more buyer confidence in the wine; it is the hospitable concept of wine tastings carried to its logical conclusion. Over the years it has led Brookside to the largest operation of its kind in the United States—thirty retail outlets, twenty-eight of them in California and two in Arizona, with more in the planning stage. In order to extend the branch-winery tasting room concept, the Biane family purchased the Mills Winery outlets in Northern California in the late 1960's.

Bonded Wine Cellar 141 is the Biane's Guasti, California, property, a venerable old structure with three-foot-thick walls housing what has been described as the largest underground aging cellars in the country and blending and bottling facilities, laboratories, and a wine museum. Four miles away at Cucamonga a second winery, the Pierre Biane winery, is also devoted to winemaking and storage. A third wine cellar in this same district is utilized in the production of sherries, champagnes, and other special varieties.

Despite the Biane family's sustained interest in winegrowing, the Brookside interests were merged with Beatrice Foods organization of Chicago in the early 1970's. According to Philo Biane: "Brookside merged with Beatrice through an exchange of stock. Brookside is a subsidiary . . . this makes us have our own board of directors and control our own destiny. At the present time, I am chairman, my son Pierre is president, my other son Michael is vice-president in charge of sales, and my nephew René vice-president in charge of production . . . which definitely retains the company in the hands of the Biances."²⁰ A Biane daughter is also an official of the wine organization.

To escape the increasing urbanization in the Cucamonga-Guasti region, the Biances decided to diversify their land holdings. To carry this out they planted extensive vineyards in the Rancho California area, one of California's new winegrowing sectors near San Diego. Hundreds of acres have been planted. Biane believes that the Rancho properties may eventually support 3,000 acres of grapevines. Among the varietal grapes planted in this coastal region are Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Noir, Johannisberg Riesling, Pinot Chardonnay, Chenin Blanc, Gamay Beaujolais, and Zinfandel. An additional sixty-five acres of experimental vineyards have been set out to test new varieties.

The philosophy of a family long in the industry has been summed up by the sixty-six-year-old head of the family as follows: "The wine business of the United States—not only California's but *all* the wine business of all the states making wine—has now moved into its rightful position of being a very honorable profession, and not only that, one that is looked upon with envy because it is a

profession that lends itself to the dignity of man. We are using things that are made available to us—the grapes, the sunshine, the water . . . you create something from this that is enjoyed by the masses. It is gratifying.”

While Theophile Vaché was establishing his original Valliant Vineyards near the little sheep grazing settlement at Hollister, not more than seventy miles away another transplanted Frenchman began his life-long rendezvous with California wines. He was Pierre Pellier, a young man from the LaRoche region of France who came to California to make his fortune in the Gold Rush, but became the progenitor of still another wine dynasty in the coastal foothills of the state. The Pellier story began in the winter of 1848 when Pellier's brother Louis first arrived in California. He had been a fruit grower and vineyardist in the Charente district. Within two years he wandered from the crowded goldfields to San Jose, and there, in October, 1850, he purchased a tract of land which he named City Gardens. At the urging of Louis, brother Pierre arrived in California in 1850 with a third brother, Jean, to join the family's farming ventures. Louis set out gardens and a nursery in the new location and soon won renown for the quality of his fruit trees and his vineyards. With typical foresight, Pierre had brought with him from France cuttings of such varieties as Fountainbleau, Madeleine, Chasselas, and Black Burgundy. Sons of capable French farmers with generations of experience on the land, the Pellier brothers saw the inherent possibilities of orchards and vineyards in the fertile Santa Clara region.

The Pellier brothers prospered in their farming enterprise, but they soon realized that the grapes they were growing in the vineyards at the southern end of San Francisco Bay would never yield the finest wines. In 1854 Pierre Pellier decided to return to France and bring back with him superior grape cuttings. This effort was a major one which took two years to complete, but when young Pellier returned he brought not only a new wealth of grape varieties, but a new French bride as well. Stories conflict about the route back to California: one account has the newlyweds returning by way of Cape Horn, while another account spoke of a return by the Isthmus of Panama. More than a century later the family treasures an anecdote displaying the resourcefulness of Pierre Pellier during an arduous six month's journey by sea. Apparently, the water supply on his small vessel was nearly exhausted, and it appeared that the choice cuttings would be lost. In desperation Pellier negotiated with the captain of the vessel to buy up all the cargo of potatoes in the hold of the ship. This having been accomplished, the clever Pellier slit the potato ends and inserted the cuttings into them, keeping them alive with their precious moisture and saving two years' effort.²¹ These vines, according to the family diaries, survived the trip and became the nucleus for some hundreds of acres of vineyards cultivated by the succeeding family still in the wine business today—the Mirassou family. Pierre is also credited with having brought back with him from France the special variety—Le Petite d'Agen, a little French prune—which marked the beginnings of a very large agricultural industry in the Santa Clara region.

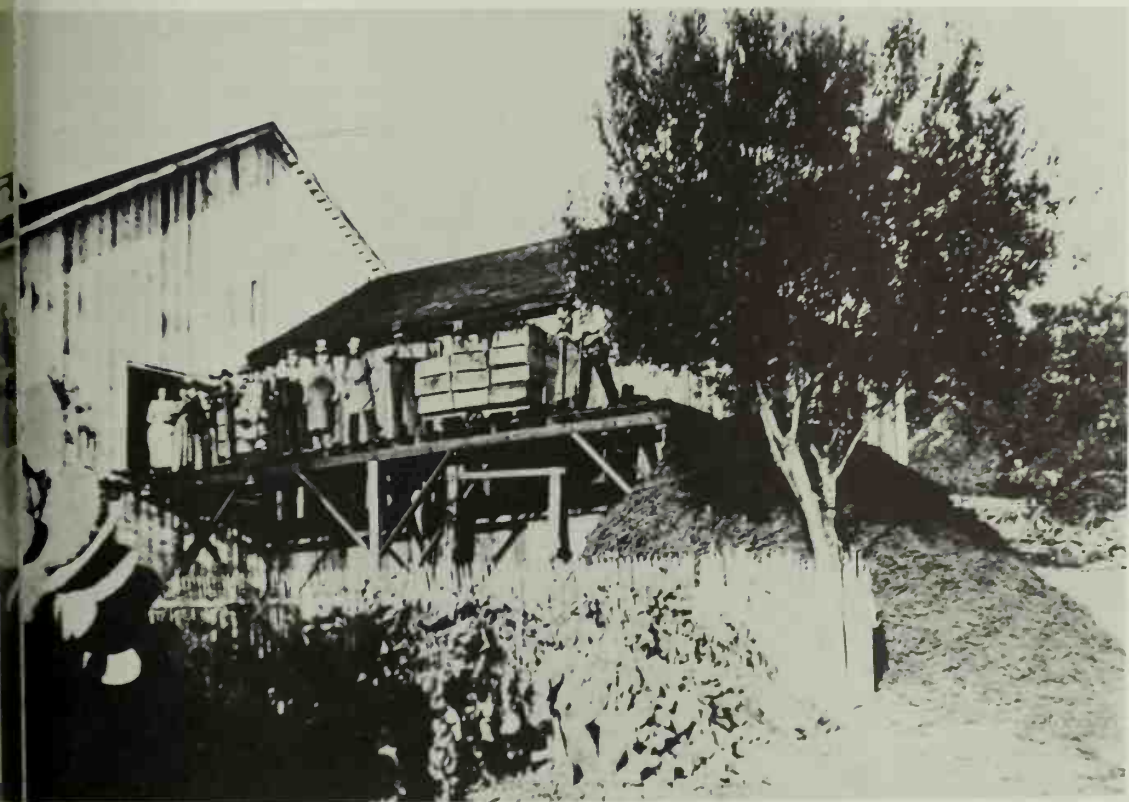
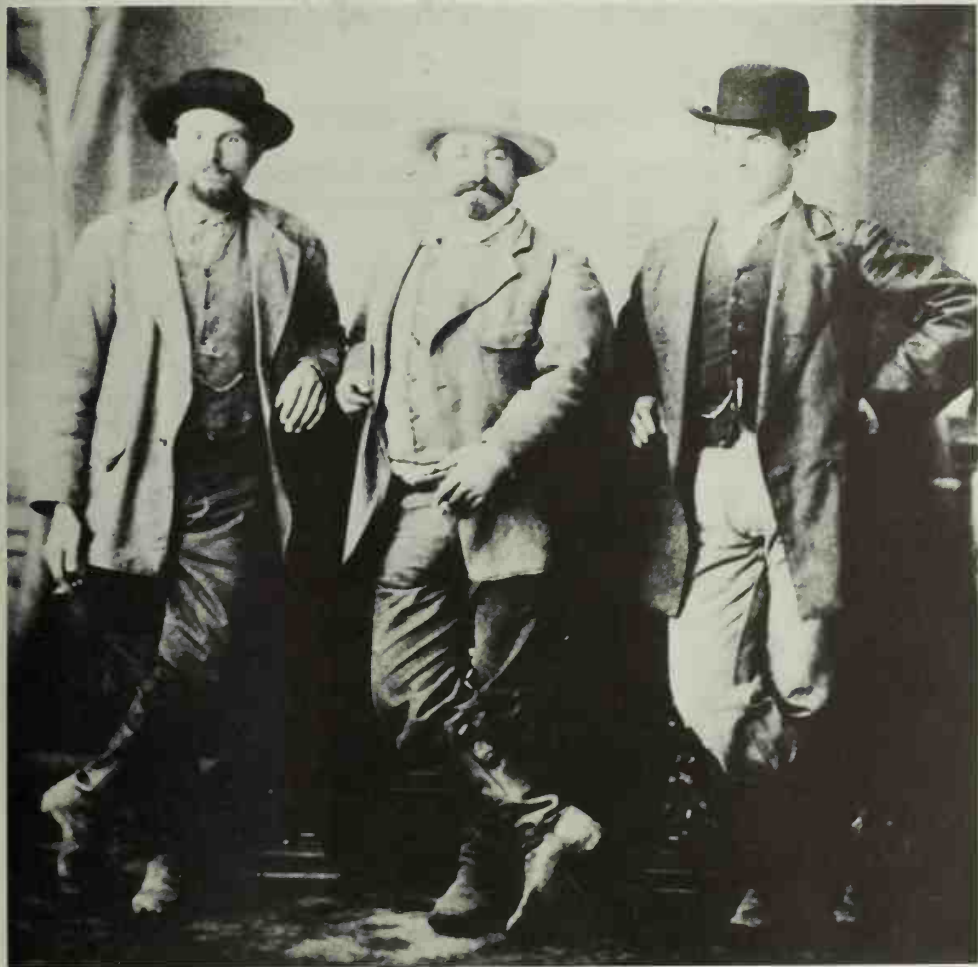
The grape cuttings brought back from this journey included the Folle Blanche, Grey Riesling, French Colombard, and possibly the Pinot Noir. Another early journalist turned winegrower, Charles A. Wetmore, founder of Cresta Blanca Vineyards in the 1890's, traced grape origins and said of the Pellier contributions:

(Continued on page 154)



In 1854 French vineyardist Pierre Pellier (left) returned to the fertile Santa Clara region with a new wife and superior grape cuttings. In the 1860's Pellier moved his family to the Evergreen district southeast of San Jose, and the Pellier winery (opposite page, below) began operation. Pierre's daughter Henrietta married neighboring vintner Pierre Mirassou (below) in 1881, and under Pierre Mirassou's leadership—with the aid of his brothers-in-law (opposite page, top; Pierre in center)—the vineyards and winery blossomed.





"The Colombarde variety came under its true name to Mr. Pellier from the Charente district of France. It is one of the Cognac varieties. . . ." He also credited Pellier for importing the Folle Blanche.²²

In 1862 Pierre, always the adventurous member of the Pellier family, left the nursery business and moved to nearby Mission San Jose where he searched and found a suitable location for a new vineyard. He selected choice land southeast of present-day San Jose in the Evergreen district, 640 acres of property which had been a portion of the Rancho Yerba Buena granted to the Chaboya family from the king of Spain. Pierre found exactly what he sought: rich, gravelly soil on sloping foothills near the base of Mount Hamilton. His experience told him that here the afternoon sunshine would be tempered by cool breezes—ideal conditions for growing fine grape varieties. He selected the best cuttings from the family nursery and set out his own vineyard. Several years later the Pellier winery crushed its first grapes and made its first wines. This was the beginning of more than a century of winegrowing in California initially under the Pellier name and later that of Mirassou.

The alliance of the Pellier and Mirassou families began in 1881 when the oldest of the four Pellier daughters, Henrietta, fell in love with a young Frenchman and neighboring vintner, Pierre Mirassou.²³ Mirassou had arrived from France only a year earlier. Because of his considerable wine experience in his youth, he was naturally given wide responsibilities in the Pellier wine operations shortly after his marriage to Henrietta, and for the ensuing nine years the vineyards and winery operations blossomed under his supervision. But with Pierre's sudden and unexpected death in 1894, the family business came under the direction of Thomas Caselagno, a former foreman on the Pellier-Mirassou property, whom Henrietta married in 1892. The three young Mirassou sons, Peter, Herman, and John, were trained in vineyard and winery operations by their new stepfather. During the decade of Caselagno's management, he coped with the sudden influx of the plant louse, *phylloxera*, which threatened the entire California wine industry in the 1890's and spread to Europe as well. Seeking rootstock resistant to this grave infestation, Caselagno went to Europe and brought back with him 20,000 disease-resistant, rooted vines of the Rupestris St. George variety—ironically a native American rootstock. (The rootstock which saved the California vineyards came primarily from Missouri, but they were imported from France after the vintners learned the French were having success with these midwestern roots.²⁴)

Able trained by Caselagno, the three Mirassou sons, Peter, Herman, and John, were experienced enough by 1909 to form a partnership and buy the entire operation from their stepfather. Two years previously, a new wine facility had been completed. Peter Mirassou married the daughter of a Mt. Hamilton orchardist, Justine C. Schreiber, and this branch of the Mirassous carried on the winemaking traditions begun by the Pelliers. Two sons, Edmund and Norbert, still remain in active ownership and direction of the Mirassou wine interests, while their fifth generation sons and daughter assumed much of the day-to-day management, marketing, and vineyard development in the late 1960's.

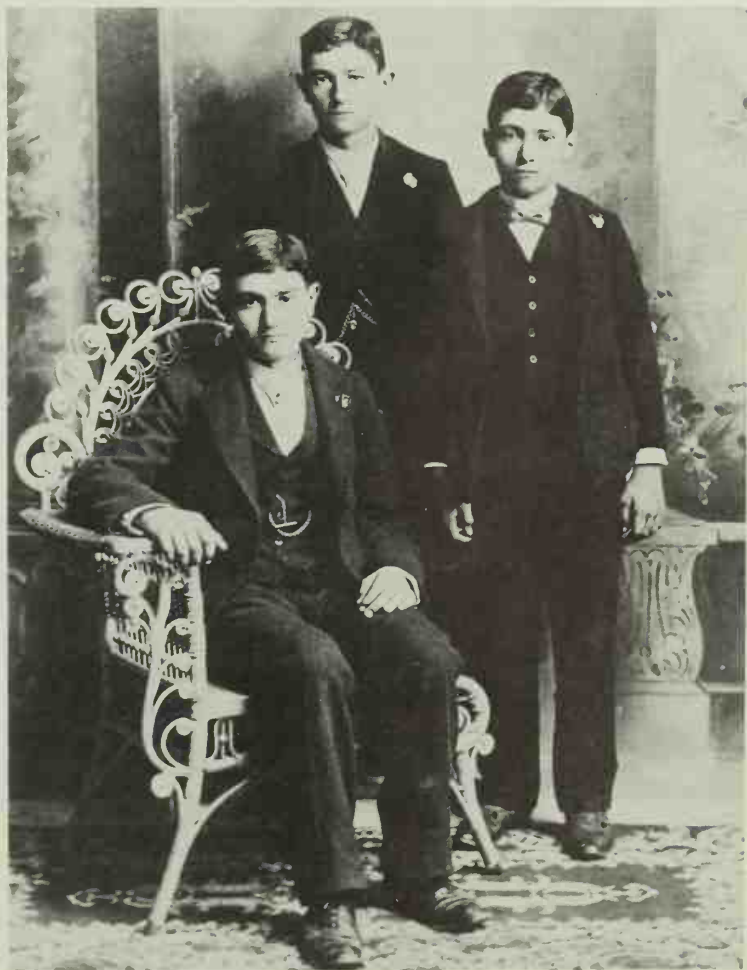
As it was for the Biane family, the Prohibition era was a critical time in the Mirassou family's operations. Peter Mirassou controlled the vineyards and winery with total land area of 800 acres and a winery capacity of 1,500,000 gallons of wine annually; Prohibition's effect was to dissolve the partnership. While many

vineyards were left dormant in parts of the state, the family decided to continue raising grapes on Mirassou land rather than convert to orchards or other crops. The unexpected continued demand for grapes during Prohibition resulted in the Mirassou family and others in the Santa Clara Valley who retained their grapes being able to sell their crops and make more money than they had prior to the Volstead Act. Grape prices went as high as \$200 a ton. With Repeal in 1934, Peter Mirassou backed his two sons in a revival of the family enterprise, and by 1937 the winery was once again in operation.

At first after so many years of inactivity, prices were low and over-all quality of California wines poor. In fact, according to one published wine history, "standards of the new industry were frankly low, partly dictated by the poor quality of available grapes but mostly because of the poor methods used to produce the wine. Some of this wine was rushed to market and naturally consumers found it to be unpalatable."²⁵

Mirassou Vineyards, however, under its new name and the guidance of Edmund and Norbert, upgraded the grape product. They became suppliers to larger wineries of fine varietal wines and champagne "stock"—the "still" wine used in producing sparkling vintages. They sold their wines mainly in bulk in tank cars or tank trucks and bottled only a small amount for those who came to buy wines

Ably trained by their step-father after Pierre Mirassou's sudden death, Peter, Herman and John Mirassou (from left) formed a partnership in 1909 and bought the Mirassou operation. Peter's children and grandchildren remain in active ownership and direction of the winery.



at the winery. Other wineries also sold in bulk, but the Mirassou wines were unusual in being primarily made from the finest varietal grapes available from the well-matured vineyards in the Evergreen. Constantly striving to improve varieties, the Mirassou family also grew 90 per cent of the grapes which were crushed to make their own wines.

By the mid-twentieth century a grave problem faced the one-time halcyon Santa Clara Valley: increasing urbanization which consumed fruit orchards and vineyards. Thousands of fertile acres were rapidly converted to shopping centers and subdivisions. In an essay written in 1961, Edmund Mirassou assessed the development as a "subdivision plague that could eradicate the production of fine wines in California . . . this enemy that no wall can hold back, this virus that is destroying and uprooting our vineyards."²⁶

Because land costs were becoming inordinately expensive as a result of new property taxes based on high valuations, the Mirassous reluctantly purchased new land in the Gavilan mountain range of Monterey County. They acquired a 300-acre ranch and planted vineyards in 1961, and shortly after, they purchased a 650-acre ranch, San Vincente, and transferred their major grapegrowing activity to the new wine region near Soledad which had been carefully analyzed by University of California agriculturists who found it eminently suitable for grape culture. The Mirassous played a major role in developing this new California winegrowing territory, as did Paul Masson and Wentz Bros.

Today, four sons and two daughters of Edmund and Norbert Mirassou comprise the fifth generation responsible for the marketing success of the winery. The fifth generation consists of Daniel, James, Peter and Colleen, children of Edmund, and Steve and Francine, children of Norbert.

In the 1970's the Mirassous pioneered again, this time in inaugurating a system of field-crushing grapes in the vineyard to prevent spoilage. Thus they have aided in opening a new perspective, "wineries in the field," much of whose success is contingent on the machine-harvesting of grapes.

Members of the Mirassou family have played an important role in community affairs in Santa Clara as well. Edmund, fourth generation, was chairman of the California State Wine Advisory Board from 1953 to 1973, administering the direction of the wine industry. He is a member of the State Board of Food and Agriculture, serving from 1972 through 1977. Mirassou has served on water, soil conservation, church, youth, and other boards, and has been a member of the Wine & Food Society of London for a decade. A son, Daniel, fifth generation, has been president of the Santa Clara Winegrowers, and another Mirassou who directs the vineyards, Peter, has helped in the organization of the Monterey winegrowers association and served as its president.

Today, the Mirassou interests include a total of 500 acres of vineyards in Santa Clara County and another 900 acres in Monterey County, most devoted to cultivation of varietal wine grapes. The fifth generation, responsible for sales of casegoods, has recently acquired the old Wehner winery, operated for years by another California vintner family, the Cribaris. The Wehner acquisition provides the Mirassou winery with an additional half-million gallons of wooden cooperage in which to age their wines. The production of the 120-year-old wine company has increased in an eight-year span from annual sales of 1,000 cases of wine to more

than 100,000 cases, while the current production capacity of the Mirassou organization now stands at 2,300,000 gallons, a far cry from the early days of Pierre Pellier, when wine production was measured by the standards of hundreds of gallons rather than hundreds of thousands of gallons.

Less than a day's journey by horse and buggy from the Evergreen district of San Jose selected by the Pellier-Mirassou family, early vintners were tilling the soil and producing wines in the Livermore Valley of Alameda County as early as 1848. It remained, however, for a Bavarian farmer skilled in animal husbandry to become the patriarch of another family in the diminishing list of family-owned wineries still in existence. The farmer was Carl Heinrich Wente, German-born and from the province of Hanover. At the age of nineteen young Wente emigrated to the United States and went to work in Lake County as a farm laborer. He built fences and labored long hours for Dr. Charles Adams in Adams Springs. Later, trudging across the St. Helena mountains and down into Napa Valley, Wente worked for another wine pioneer, Charles Krug. Wente became a cellar man and learned the rudiments of winemaking. He acquired his trade in California, unlike Pierre Pellier or Marius Biane who had carried their wine skills with them from France. While working in the Napa region, Wente met and later married another youthful German settler, Barbara Trautwein, who had been born in Lonsheim near the Black Forest. In contrast to Wente, Miss Trautwein came from a family that cultivated vines and herself was familiar with winemaking. After marrying, they settled down in the Livermore Valley and purchased fifty acres of Dr. George Bernard's vineyard two miles southeast of the town in partnership with Louis Busch and Herman Oterson. This acreage became known as the "home place," and the winery is still there some ninety-two years later.²⁷

Twenty acres of the land had been planted with the Zinfandel grape and smaller amounts of Charbono, Matero, and Colombard. Ironically in light of its popularity today, young Wente was unhappy about one variety called Grey Riesling, which he grafted over to White Riesling. A neighboring family took some of the Grey Riesling cuttings and replanted them along Vineyard Avenue in the nearby town of Pleasanton. A full half-century later, one of the three Wente sons, Ernest, re-acquired some of these original cuttings from the Will Schween family and began production of the well-known Wente Grey Riesling—possibly one of the most familiar of today's Wente vintages in California.²⁸

Wente and his partners soon planted the remaining acres to new varieties—Semillon, Sauvignon blanc, and Sauvignon vert. The Sauvignon blanc came from cuttings brought to the state by a French vineyardist, Louis Mel, who had obtained them from the Marquis de Saluces of the famed Chateau d'Yquem in the Sauternes district. When Prohibition ended, the visiting Marquis inspected the descendants of the original cuttings from d'Yquem and remarked "I'm glad to find my children so well in California."

While the Livermore Valley became known for its white wine varieties, in the earlier years a substantial amount of red table grapes had also been planted, much of it for sale as bulk wines. The Wentes produced a great quantity of red wines, principally Zinfandel, and also a wine that was labelled as *vin ordinaire* and sold by the hundreds of thousands of gallons. Their sound philosophy was to try "to make \$2.50 a ton on these grapes and keep the men employed."²⁹

Young Ernest Wenté, the second student ever to enroll at the University of California at Davis in 1908, became friendly with a Frenchman who had been hired by the university, Leon O. Bonnet, a graduate of the National School of Agriculture at Montpellier. In 1912 this friendship resulted in Bonnet's brother, a superintendent of the Montpellier nursery, shipping a number of French vines to the Wentés, including a variety known as Ugni blanc. Wenté recalls that his neighboring vintner, Clarence Wetmore of Cresta Blanca winery, grew the same variety, but he called it St. Emilion. The two vines, however, actually came from different regions in France, and their similarity aroused controversy similar to the early confusion between Colombard and Sauvignon vert grape types. The Livermore region was considered by some to evidence more of a "sauternes" climate than that of a German-style "Riesling." For many years after Repeal, however, Wenté's Rieslings were displayed and entered in the State Fair competition in Sacramento where they won high awards for excellence.

Pressured by the needs of a family of seven, Carl Wenté was a stern taskmaster with his three sons, and he required them to work long, arduous hours in the vineyards. Two of them, Ernest and Herman, remained in the wine business all of their lives, while the third, Carl F. Wenté, who developed an early aversion to weed pulling and farm life in general, went into banking and became president of the world's largest banking enterprise, the Bank of America. Skeptical of higher education, when Ernest decided to enroll at Davis, Carl, Sr., discouragingly pointed out that his neighbor, Colonel George Edwards, although dean of mathematics at the University of California, had lost by foreclosure 200 acres of land in the Livermore area in the 1880's. Carl proudly observed that although his own education in Germany had ended with the third grade, he managed to purchase the property.

Wenté's choice of the Livermore area was a good one. Several wineries owned by prominent settlers thrived there. The Concannon family had settled down in Livermore in the same year as Wenté, 1883. The Olivina winery of Julius Paul Smith was known throughout the state. Smith's wealth had come from the famed Twenty Mule Team borax enterprises; on his retirement he bought 2,300 acres of land and put much of it into grapes. Another settler, Alexander Duvall, founded Chateau Bellevue winery with railroading money and built an imposing mansion and chapel. Most famous at the time, perhaps, was the Cresta Blanca Winery founded by journalist Charles A. Wetmore in 1882; by 1889 he had won two gold medals for the quality of his wines at the International Exposition in Paris.³⁰

However, grapegrowing and winemaking in the Livermore Valley did not naturally produce superior quality wines, by any means. As Ernest Wenté recounted: "While Robert Livermore brought grapes into the Livermore area in the 1830's and the old Padres brought in Mission grapes in the early days, all the Mission varieties were of Spanish origin. It had no great quality asset at all. It was just the *vin ordinaire*. When we started in production here we went into the better varieties."³¹

After the turn of the century, a wine "alliance" occurred between the elder Wenté and Napa vintner Emil Priber, president of the Napa & Sonoma Wine Company. Priber sold his company to Wenté, who became president and named a friend, Frank A. Busse, superintendent of the enterprise. The association contin-



German-born Carl Heinrich Wentz and his wife posed in front of their winery in Livermore at the end of the vintage season in 1894. The building stands today with a few additions. Carl's sons Ernest (far left) and Herman L. (on his mother's lap) are the present owners of Wentz Bros.

ued until the advent of Prohibition. During this period Wentz retained 51 per cent of the stock holdings, but his wine labels read "Napa and Sonoma Wine Company" while featuring wines from Napa, Sonoma, and Livermore. The wording came about at the express order of Wentz who chose not to have his own name on the label. In fact, Wentz wines were never bottled in Livermore prior to Prohibition, according to Ernest Wentz, only in Napa and Sonoma. Furthermore, there was no actual Wentz label. At the Pan-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, however, each of four gold-medal award wines entered at the fair was Wentz-made, although bottled under such names as Beaulieu, Napa, Sonoma, and one other old firm, Gundlach and Bundschu.³² Many other firms bought Wentz wines and bottled them. One was the celebrated "A. Finke's Widow," the label of grocers and dealers established in 1864, located on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, and run by E. O. Schraubstadter and E. A. Groezinger. Many such sales were made to California wine sellers, bottlers, and individuals.

Wente's operations changed radically with Prohibition. Wente's major customer until Repeal was Beaulieu Vineyard. This Napa winery, begun in 1900 by Georges de Latour, sold sacramental wines, and for them Wente produced approximately 30,000 gallons of wine each season. The main wine was Sweet Semillon or Sweet Sauterne which was sold to the Church. In order to comply with federal alcohol-tax regulations, however, Wente winery, itself bonded, became a Beaulieu-bonded winery so that it could ship directly to agents in Chicago and other cities. Wines in bulk also were sold to Cresta Blanca, which had been in operation since the 1890's.

Wente's Napa & Sonoma company discontinued operating when Prohibition began. He thereupon sold his rights in the company for the price of the inventory and, at the same time, turned over his own Wente winery to his two sons, Ernest and Herman. Each was asked to select the particular vineyard property he wanted, and C. H. Wente, Inc., the original family organization, was disbanded. Carl remained on the property in the original family home until his death in 1934 at the age of eighty-three at which time the winery and vineyards became the famed Wente Bros.

Each of Carl's sons concentrated in his own specialty. Herman, the dynamic winemaker and personality, became a leader in the state's post-World War II wine industry. Ernest, an expert farmer and vineyardist, was known in the Livermore region as a cattleman as well as a wine authority. Whereas Ernest had been a student at the small Davis branch of the University of California, Herman attended classes at Berkeley where he studied under the famed Professor W. V. Cruess, a pioneer in the food technology field, who had begun organizing classes for potential winemakers.³³

According to Ernest Wente, an interesting change in emphasis took place in the state's wine industry in 1934 when Wente Bros. became an official name: the nomenclature of California wines was altered. Prior to Prohibition generic wines, whose names were duplicates of European wines (Chablis, Sauterne, Burgundy, Sherry) were the best-known. But when the state industry reorganized itself in the mid-1930's after Repeal, there occurred a notable change in which the Wentes played a major role. Herman Wente came onto the market in 1936 with a Sauvignon blanc which is believed to have been the first "varietal" wine produced in California, varietal meaning one named for the grape itself. The Sauvignon blanc sold so well that Wente Bros. soon introduced other varietal names such as Semillon, Pinot Chardonnay, and Pinot blanc. Other wineries soon followed suit.

Continuity of winemaking operations has been of utmost importance to the Wente Bros. operation. When the winery began its own labelling in 1934, four new employees joined the organization: Bruno Canziani, winemaker; Elbert Kirkman, office manager and secretary of the company; Frank Garbini, an expert both in and out of the winery; and Adele Kruger, a forelady who supervised twelve women on the bottling lines and became a tour hostess. Forty years later three of the quartet are still active in the wine company, with a cumulative 120 years of experience.

Marketing today is a far cry from the early 1900's when all wine was shipped by train or water and frequently bottled in its destination cities of Oakland or

San Francisco. As the Livermore wine company continued to grow, new sales practices developed which involved national distributors, transportation by truck, and refinements in grapegrowing and processing. Herman Wenté remained active for many years as principal winemaker and an early organizer of the Wine Institute, a trade association he helped establish in 1934. A third generation family member, Karl Wenté, joined the winery following graduation from Stanford University. As urbanization began to take its toll in the Livermore Valley and Santa Clara, the Wenté Bros. purchased 300 acres in the Salinas Valley in 1961. Today their vineyards total 700 acres in Monterey County and yield a large proportion of the grapes utilized in producing Wenté wines. The wines are distributed nationally, shipped overseas, and often served in United States embassies abroad at diplomatic functions. Wenté Bros.' Pinot Chardonnay, praised nationally in the 1960's by the Guide Michelin, became the standard by which other California Chardonnays were judged. By the mid-1970's two members of the fourth Wenté generation, Philip and Eric, entered the family business to carry on the ninety-two-year-old enterprise. Karl Wenté is active outside of wine industry, as well, as a member of the board of trustees of the state university system, director of the California Water Co., and a director of the California Automobile Association. With 1,400 acres of vineyards and the capacity to produce 1,500,000 gallons of wine, Wenté Bros. exercises perhaps a disproportionate role in setting standards of quality for other California wine companies.

Unlike the French Vaché-Biane and Mirassou-Pellier families and the German-born Wentés, the Concannons of the Livermore Valley came from Irish stock. They brought to wine making an entirely different heritage, but applied the same basic skills to tilling the soil and making high quality wines. With the Biances, Mirassous, and Wentés, the third-generation Concannon Vineyard is apparently the fourth and last of the family-owned growers and vintners who began operations in the middle and late 1800's and still remain in the wine business. Until recently they were accurately described as "an old firm with a famous name, strong in Irish Catholic traditions, and known for the quality of wines—with main accent on table wines of the Sauterne family."³⁴ In the past decade, however, they have diversified into red and white table wines of many types and styles, including Riesling, Petite Sirah, and Cabernet Sauvignon.

James Concannon, founder of the Livermore winery, was born and raised on the Aran Islands on Galway Bay. As a youth he had little interest in wine and more in the family occupation of potato raising. He dreamed of going to the "new country," however, and saved his money to buy passage to America.

Young James' path between debarking at Boston harbor and settling down in Livermore was anything but direct. His first job was with the Singer Sewing Machine company; later he became manager of a hotel in Maine, going to school at night. In 1874 at age twenty-seven Concannon married and brought his bride to San Francisco. First he managed a sheep ranch in Oregon, then he sold books door-to-door, and eventually he became a pioneer in the rubber stamp business. Taking over an exclusive agency for the Pacific Coast and Mexico as well, he lived in Mexico for several years and became a friend of President Porfirio Díaz. It was from the sale of rubber stamps that Concannon earned the money to buy vineyard property and settle down to a permanent address and a new business.

Through talks with his friend Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, he became convinced that he could earn a good living making wines and selling them to the Catholic church.

It was in 1883, the same year the Wenthe family established its first vineyard in the Livermore area, that Concannon and his wife settled down on Livermore acreage which he had bought from rancher Horace Overacher. The area was a district of fertile farms with a well-organized township and thriving economy; it had become a farming community after a sailor, Robert Livermore, jumped ship in the town of Monterey and settled on the Rancho Las Positas. Entering the Livermore Valley in 1835, by 1853 Livermore had developed a ranch comprising 26,000 acres, and on it he ran cattle and sheep, cultivated fruit orchards, and planted vineyards, perhaps the first in the area. Thirty years later the Concannons acquired their forty-seven-acre plot of land where the present-day winery stands.

Because of his family's farming experience, Concannon was well aware of the farming potential of the area. He discovered that the region was similar to that of the Graves area, France's famed Sauternes-producing district. His property was located in a narrow gravel strata at the south end of the Valley. It was filled with boulders and rock formations, and it badly needed cultivation. Here James and Ellen Rowe Concannon, married for ten years, settled down to grow grapes and make wines. In the years to come the Concannons reared a family of five sons and five daughters, all of them active in winery work and in church and Irish cultural activity.

Indicative of his expansive interests, Concannon also helped develop a grape-growing industry in Mexico. As the story goes, President Díaz believed that one day Mexico could grow its own wines, and in 1890 he invited James Concannon to set out the first vineyards. Idwal Jones related Concannon's Mexican experience:

He planted them to scions from the Concannon, the Wenthe, and the Cresta Blanca farms, and wrote textbooks in Spanish on grape farming for the planters and workmen. When he moved about from one of these haciendas to another, all developed with federal money, he was escorted by a troop of cavalry. That escort was in the nature of a personal tribute, and Don Jaime Concannon, the Livermore farmer, with his sun wrinkles, strong bearded jaw and gnarled hands, traveled with no less magnificence than the President himself.³⁵

Meanwhile, on his land in Livermore Valley, Concannon concentrated on the production of white table wines made from the Semillon and Sauvignon varieties. In addition, as Archbishop Alemany has assured him, considerable revenue came from sales of sacramental wines to the church. The requirements for these sacramental wines were rather stringent: they had to be of light alcoholic content and they had to be sweet. Quite often they had to be white varieties, so that if the wine spilled it would not stain the linen used in the service. The Concannons carefully met all the requirements, and they became accustomed to producing only quality wines from excellent grapes. As a result, their growing reputation, and that of Wenthe and nearby Cresta Blanca, made the Livermore Valley famous for white wine quality and high standards.

By 1910 the Concannon sons had entered the wine business. Concannon acreage was expanded. Several red grape varieties were planted, among them the

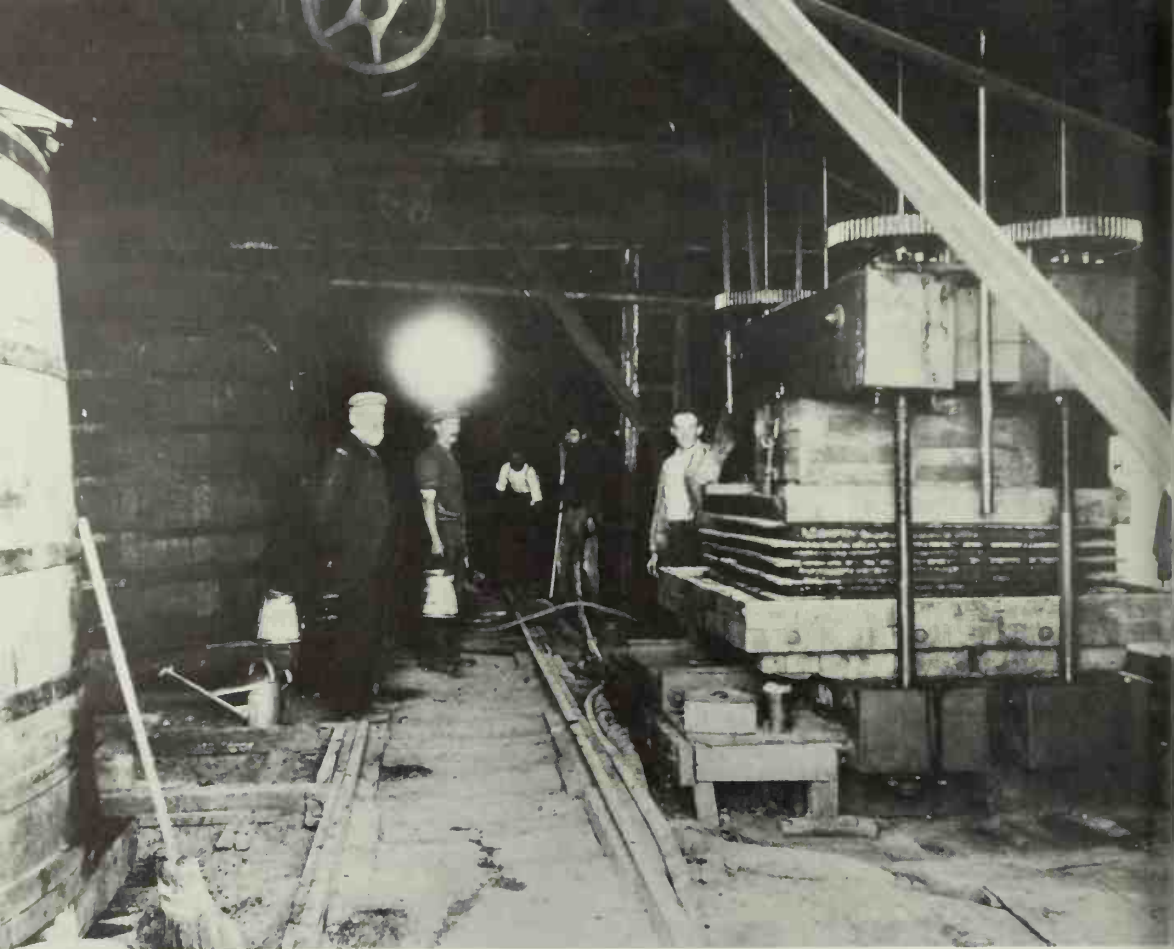
Petite Sirah which was destined to become a special wine featured by the Concannon family decades later.

The pioneering Concannon, salesman extraordinary, staunch religionist, and family man, brought the Irish spirit to his home and to the Livermore Valley. Between 1883 and his death in 1911 he sent for many relatives from the old country, including brothers and their families, and the Concannon ranch became a center of Irish activity. With his death active management of the winery and vineyards passed to Joseph S. Concannon who retained control for the following half-century. Other brothers were interested in the wine producing operation, but gradually "Captain Joe," who was a cavalry officer prior to World War I, acquired full ownership and became one of the best-known wine personalities in the north coastal region.

Born in the family home located in the vineyards along Tesla Road, Joseph Concannon lived in the same house and spent full days in the nearby winery until his death in 1965 at the age of eighty. In the earlier years his brother Thomas Concannon served as the wine chemist, and a third brother, Robert, took charge of sales. Steady expansion led to a total planting of 300 acres of grapevines surrounding the winery. In 1937 Cabernet Sauvignon was planted for the first time,

Irishman James Concannon posed with his family in 1897 at their home and winery in the Livermore Valley. Joseph (standing behind his mother) assumed operation of the winery after James' death in 1911 and steered its course until 1965.





At his Livermore winery (right, photo c. 1890), Concannon concentrated on producing white table wines and, as well, sweet, light sacramental wines. The original wine press (above) served the Concannons and their band of countrymen for many years.



followed by new planting of Johannisberg Riesling, Zinfandel, Petite Sirah, and other varietals which were tested and found to grow well in the rocky, gravelly Livermore loam.

Young Joseph S. Concannon, Jr., took over operation of the winery and vineyards upon the death of his father in 1965. A graduate of Notre Dame University, the younger Concannon had worked in and around the winery since his teens. He became president and manager of the family corporation, and his younger brother, James, trained at St. Mary's College and at the University of California at Davis, became the winemaker.

The new generation of Concannons follows the field practice of eliminating the oldest vines, allowing the exhausted soil to lie fallow for five years, then introducing new vines block by block. Within the modest winery are eighty-year-old aging casks and the original press, which is still used in producing some of the wines, although new stainless steel equipment has been added. The Concannons specialize in wines not produced by other vintners, including the only "Moselle" bottled in California, a Zinfandel Rosé, and a Muscat d'Frontignan dessert wine from the grape of that name. Recently the Concannons have planted cuttings of a Russian wine grape known as the Rkatsiteli and have produced a varietal wine by this name on an experimental basis. Four young sons are available to continue the Concannon wine line, and two of them are now old enough to work in the winery as their fathers did thirty years earlier.

Rich vineyard properties once belonging to the late lawyer-vintner Chaffee Hall of Hallcrest Vineyards have been leased from the late winemaker's estate to add special character to the grapes used in Concannon wines. Currently, the





In 1911 a San Francisco photographer, Howard C. Tibbetts, photographed workers pressing grapes and pumping juice into fermentation tanks (above) and pumping wine from one cask to another (left) at a Livermore winery.



OPPOSITE: Field workers were photographed prior to 1900 in this view of Alameda County's Warm Springs vineyard and winery, owned by Josiah Stanford, brother of Leland Stanford. Warm Springs wines were featured at the famous Hotel Del Monte.

Livermore winery is enlarging its storage capacity of 400,000 gallons and its ability to bottle 400 cases of wine a day.

Today, California boasts more than 240 bonded wineries, and the vineyards continue to lure new blood into the industry. As well, a substantial number of early wine families established in the early twentieth century, many still bearing names of wineries established in the 1800's, continue to produce. The oldest winery building still functioning today may be that of the Thomas Vineyards, founded in the Cucamonga region in 1839, but now simply a retail wine-tasting branch of the Joseph Filippi Winery.³⁶ The nationally known Almaden Vineyards was first established in 1852 by Frenchman Etienne Thee near the old quicksilver diggings which are virtually overrun by the sprawling suburbs of Los Gatos. Thee was succeeded by his son-in-law, Charles Le Franc. Paul Masson Vineyards boasts the same founding year as Almaden because the vineyard established by Thee and later acquired by LeFranc in turn passed over to Paul Masson, a Burgundy native who came to California in the late 1870's and later married LeFranc's daughter. He organized the wine company LeFranc and Masson, bought out the LeFranc interests in the 1880's, and established the Paul Masson Champagne Company. In turn, when the elderly Masson retired from his wine-making activities in 1936, he sold his beautiful Chateau and mountain winery to





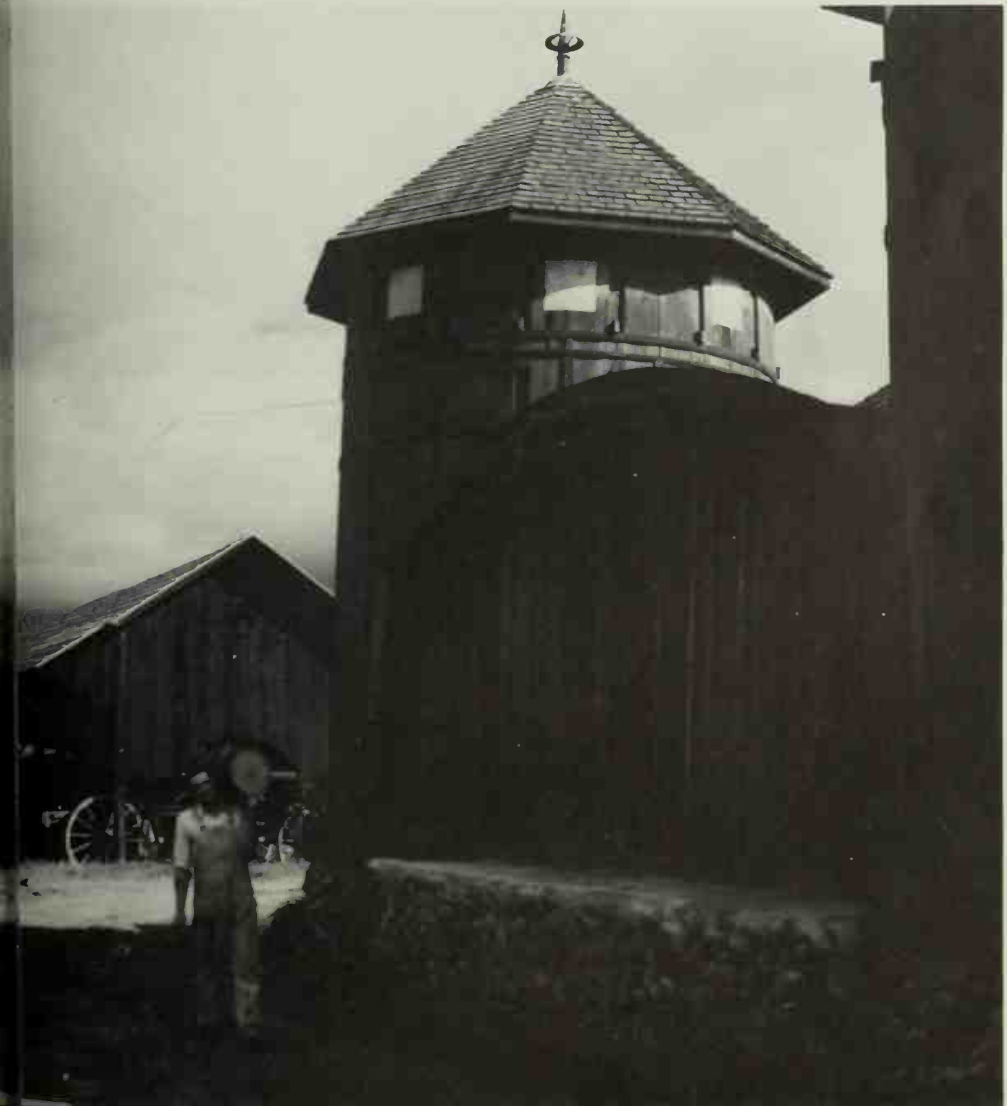
In 1889 workmen constructed the arch and wall in front of the Greystone Cellars near St. Helena (above). Currently owned by the Christian Brothers, the cellars are possibly the largest aging cellars made of oak and redwood in use in California.

This 1900's view of Fountaingrove Vineyard evokes the pastoral mood of the California wine story that is now only history. The vineyards of Fountaingrove, established in 1875 by a religious order, were given over to cattle grazing in 1953.



Martin Ray. The giant Seagram distilling company acquired Paul Masson from Ray in 1942, and it maintains this old wine label in the American and international marketplace under one of its subsidiary umbrellas, Browne Vintners.

Another of the old wine companies of California is Italian Swiss Colony which now belongs to the Heublein interests through its enormous subsidiary, United Vintners. It was begun in the early 1880's by a banker and former agriculturist, Andrea Sbarbaro, to provide Italian and Swiss farmers with work in the vineyards he had established in northern Sonoma County near Cloverdale. The rolling hills of the country reminded Sbarbaro of his native region of Lombardy in Italy, and he named his new vineyard Asti. In 1888 he engaged a pharmacist, Pietro Rossi, to become the winemaker and to improve the quality of the wines. Rossi's family included twin sons, Edmund and Robert, who were associated for many decades with the Italian Swiss Colony, although Edmund also managed the California Wine Advisory Board for more than a decade. Today, eighty years later, two grandsons of the winery executives, Edmund, Jr., and Robert, Jr., are key officials in the state's second largest wine company with its nine producing



The mythical passing of the grape cutting from the tired old world to the rugged new land is the theme of this solemn if optimistic nineteenth-century advertisement for California wines sponsored by a New York distributor. Its caption read, "Bacchus in America—The Old Wine God and the New."



branches in California, 2,000 acres of vineyards, and producing capacity of 95 million gallons.

A Finnish sea captain, Gustav Niebaum, bought a vineyard in the Napa Valley in 1879, named the operation Inglenook, and began producing excellent wines known throughout California for decades. His nephew, John Daniel, Jr., a pilot and gentleman farmer, took over the management and ownership of the winery and the vineyards in the late 1930's. Daniel extended the fame of Inglenook wines and carried on the winemaking tradition as well as producing some of the finest red wines in California. They included Cabernet Sauvignon and a special wine, Charbono, which was the only one of its type in the state. In the mid-60's Inglenook winery was sold to the Heublein interests, although some vineyards and the family residence remained in the hands of the Daniel estate. These were acquired in the early 1970's by the van Löben Sels family for Oakville Vineyards, a limited partnership. The beautiful winery with its ivy-covered exterior remains intact, but unfortunately this outstanding Napa Valley architectural landmark has been almost obscured by the construction of a new wine building.



Still another celebrated winery and vineyards established in the 1880's has been acquired by Heublein. Beaulieu Vineyard is operated as an independent subsidiary of the large company. Georges de Latour, another Frenchman who arrived in California in the 1880's, had studied chemistry, and when he took up residence in Healdsburg he established a business, purchasing the residue of wine tanks, a deposit known as cream of tartar which was once used in the manufacture of baking soda. Like so many others, de Latour was intrigued with the burgeoning state wine business, and in 1889 he took the plunge himself. He acquired property adjacent to Inglenook, and his wife named it Beaulieu for a well-known commune in the Anjou district of France. Under his ownership and that of his daughter, Helene De Pins, and her husband, the Marquis de Pins, Beaulieu has remained one of the bright stars in the California wine firmament for seventy years. The firm was acquired by Heublein in 1969, and it has retained its independent status as a producer of excellent vintages. Its winemaker, Andre Tchelistcheff (now emeritus), was regarded for decades as California's outstanding wine specialist.

Another historical wine family of seven decades is headed by Antonio Perelli-Minetti, ninety-four-years-old, who has been in the wine business since the early 1900's. Still vigorous and experimenting with new wine varieties, Perelli-Minetti heads the California Wine Association which was founded in 1905 and has undergone many changes of management. Its one-time statewide sales and production unit consisting of "Eleven Cellars" has now been reduced to one giant production plant at Delano, where there are 1,500 acres of vineyards and a storage capacity of 27 million gallons of wine. The three Perelli-Minetti sons carry on the family business, producing brandies which sell throughout the United States, as well as wines under the label of Fino Eleven Cellars, Ambassador, Calwa, and Aristocrat. This large, family-owned wine enterprise retains 300 wine labels inherited from previous companies which it has succeeded.

Another wine pioneer, Charles Krug, came to the Napa Valley and St. Helena region from Germany and established a winery in 1860 following his marriage to Carolyn Bale. After twenty years of successful operations on land acquired as his wife's dowry, Krug became one of the most successful vintners in the valley.³⁷ His wines were sold in the United States as well as in Mexico and England until his vineyard was ruined by *phylloxera* and his estate became in jeopardy at the time of his death in 1892. A nephew continued the operation until Prohibition. After Repeal, the Cesare Mondavi family bought the Krug estate and restored the vineyards and winery. Today this winery is run by Peter Mondavi and other members of his family, while his brother, Robert, once active in Krug management, now operates the nearby Robert Mondavi winery.

This completes a roster of some of the famous old names in California wine-growing today, many of which have been taken over by other interests. In the 1950's, however, a young German refugee widened the tone and spirit of a Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story which has repeated itself again and again in the last two decades. Hanns Kornell was a twenty-eight-year-old exile from Germany who arrived at New York's Ellis Island in 1939 with \$2 in his pocket and hitch-hiked to California. He carried with him the impressive credentials of a third-generation German champagne maker—but very little prospects of a job. In the European tradition, Kornell had been apprenticed to other wine companies and had worked in the wine cellars where his grandfather, father, and uncles had followed the family trade. After years of adversity and working for other wineries, Kornell acquired a tiny winery of his own in Sonoma, leasing a plant from the Sonoma Wine Company directly off a major highway and less than a mile from the original homestead and vineyards of General Vallejo. Partly by chance and partly by design he had landed in the very cradle of winemaking in California; almost a century earlier Arpad Haraszthy had made champagne in this very region for his father, Count Haraszthy.

The first years in California were difficult for Kornell. He divided his time between making champagne and activities which included traveling to San Francisco, soliciting orders, washing barrels, and operating the labelling machine. His was a one-man operation, and his sparkling wine production was proudly listed by the hundreds of bottles as the enterprising champagne maker travelled to the nearby cities, visiting and persuading them to use his product.

After six years of hard work and long hours Kornell saved enough money to

expand his production and—best of all—to negotiate the purchase of an old winery establishment in the Napa Valley north of St. Helena known since the 1890's as the Larkmead winery. It was situated on the property once owned by the family of Lillian Hitchcock Coit, the celebrated San Francisco fire buff. The winery had been operated by the Salmina family until Kornell purchased it in 1958—the same year that he married Marilouise Rossini, the daughter of a pioneer Napa Valley settler. In the succeeding years Kornell made his mark on California wine. He expanded his tiny production to a million and a half bottles by the early 1970's and sold his wines in the United States and abroad. His product won international honors in sparkling-wine judgments in Hungary, London, and Yugoslavia as well as at home. Today Kornell seeks to perpetuate the family champagne name through training the fourth generation of Kornell winemakers, his teen-age daughter and son, brought up in the old wine traditions.

The Kornell story is typical of other California wine families. The Louis Martini family arrived from Italy at the turn of the century, and Louis M. Martini began producing his wines in the 1920's prior to establishing his now-famous family winery in St. Helena in the mid-1930's. The elder Martini died in 1974, but his son, Louis P. Martini, continues the family tradition. He is joined by later winemakers such as Joe Heitz, Jack Davies of Schramsberg, the Sebastiani family in Sonoma who have been producing excellent vintages since the early 1900's, and others of more recent years. In the 1970's many very small, boutique-style wineries have been organized in California, each with its loyal clientele.

The California wine industry represents a Cinderella success story, but one that demanded guts, arduous labor, and many long years of toil and tears to establish. Many traditional names continue; many have fallen by the wayside. As the Biances, Wentes, Concannons, and Mirassous enter into their fourth and fifth generation of activity, they appear to be stronger than ever before. It is interesting to note, however, that the total gallon production of these four family wineries represents just about 1 per cent of the state's over-all winemaking capacity, and as more Americans learn to appreciate wine, California's 1974 production figure of more than 325 million gallons will undoubtedly increase substantially.

Each of the four nineteenth-century families possessed an inherent love of the soil and the vine. The Biances pioneered a new wine marketing concept in order to remain a force in the wine business. The Mirassous sold bulk wines for more than three-quarters of a century before opting to plunge into competitive wine merchandising. Both the Wente and Concannon families helped establish the supremacy of Livermore Valley white wines and today are turning their energies toward recognition for their red wines as well. These families and today's giant producers and tiny wineries make up the complex fabric of this enormous California industry.

THE LITHOGRAPH on page 145 is from *Harpers Weekly*, 1878; the photographs on pages 148 and 149 are courtesy the Biane family archives at Brookside Winery, Old Guasti; the photos on pages 152 (top), 153, and 155, courtesy the Mirassou Vineyards, San Jose; and the photos on pages 163, 164, and 165, courtesy the Concannon family. The photos on pages 167 and 170–71 are from the CHS collections, and all other graphics are from the Wine Institute, San Francisco.

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REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Pictorial Resources: The Henry E. Huntington Library's California and American West Collections

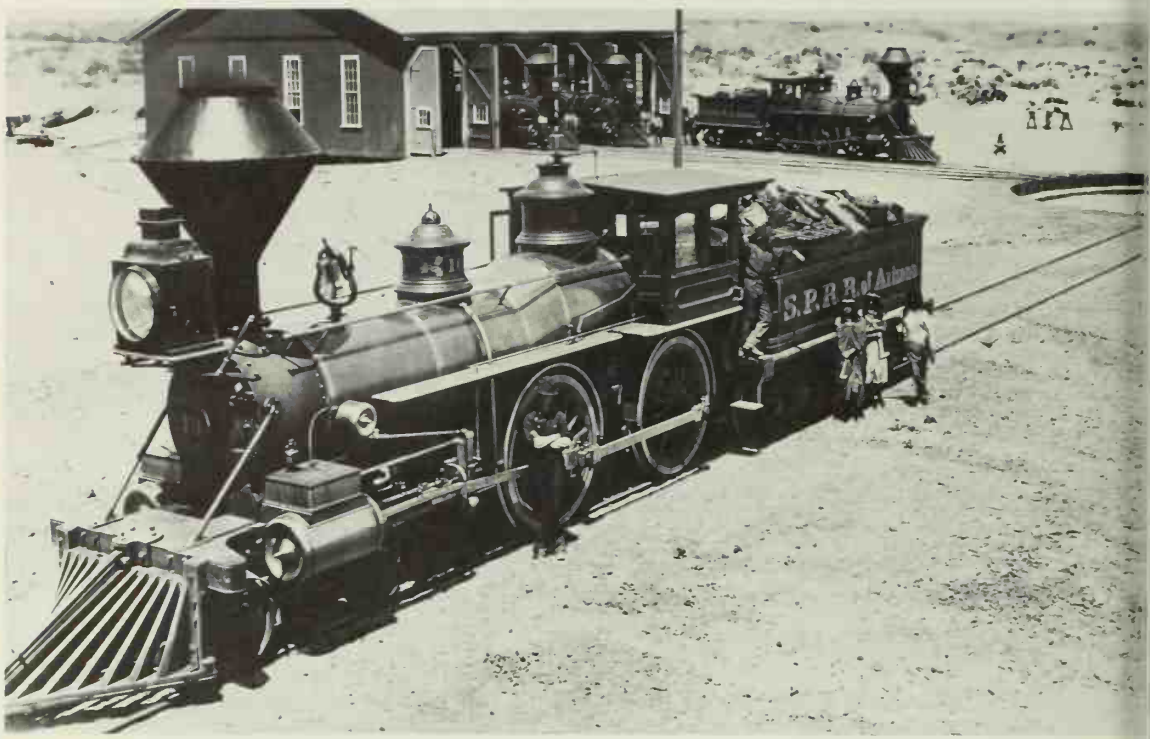
GARY F. KURUTZ, *director of the CHS Library and former curator of historical photographs at the Huntington Library, San Marino.*

An institution that displays Thomas Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy* and houses an E. A. Burbank portrait of Geronimo bespeaks of great diversity. The Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, noted for its splendid collection of English portraits and landscapes, also possesses a surprisingly fine array of photographs, prints, pencil sketches, and water colors depicting the American West. Ranging from original sketches by George Catlin to photographs by Edward Weston, the Huntington's pictorial archives offer scholars an unusually wide variety of mediums, topics, geographic areas, and time periods.

Since the library's inception, Mr. Huntington and his librarians collected western pictorial material as a complement to the library's famous collection of rare books and manuscripts. Recognition in recent years of the importance of western photography and art has revealed the depth and flexibility of the Huntington's resources. Drawings originally procured for their documentary value are simultaneously studied as works of art. Photographs once utilized only as illustrations for scholarly monographs are now studied because of their photographer. Books once acquired for their textual value are now reviewed for their original photographs. Thus the Huntington, in an almost incidental manner, has created a pictorial collection that in many ways matches the richness of its books and manuscripts.

The library's photograph collection is remarkably well-rounded, possessing prints made by nearly every major pioneer photographer including O'Sullivan, Hillers, Haynes, Savage, Gardner, Hart, Soule, Russell, Jackson, Barry, Taber, Muybridge, and Watkins. Topically, the collection contains subjects common to many photo libraries such as agriculture, architecture, business, industry, Indians, culture, transportation, significant events, and scientific exploration. Geographically, all the western states are covered, but, because of the library's location, a great percentage of its holdings center on Southern California. Of course, the collection embraces a sizeable portrait file. At a conservative estimate, the collection encompasses approximately 150,000 prints, negatives, and albums. Half-tones and other photo-mechanically produced prints are excluded from this file.

Qualified scholars gain access to the collection through an index or photo file, which is arranged by portraits, places, events, subjects, and in some cases by date and individual collection. Los Angeles, for example, is catalogued by street (Spring Street), place



This carefully composed 11" x 17" albumen print of the round house at Yuma (above) is considered to be one of pioneer photographer C. E. Watkins' finest photos.



From the F. I. Monsen Collection comes this dramatic sepia-toned view (left) of a driver urging his team of mules across the muddy Little Colorado River in Arizona in 1885.



Photographer Jack Hillers assembled this group (left) at the stone office of Creek Indian Chief Samuel Checato at Okmulgee, Oklahoma Territory. This is one of several Hillers photos in the Major G. W. Ingalls Collection.

(Sonora Town), event (Fiesta) and by date. Consultation with a staff member may turn up more than the photo file index reveals, and many of the most valuable items are housed in the rare book stacks.

A most valuable bibliographic aid is the seven-volume index to photographers compiled by Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter. Each image (when possible) is listed by its artist; the index is arranged by state and then alphabetically by name. Each entry includes approximate dates of the cameraman, studio location, and references to directories, books and articles.

As is well-known, a great many of the most spectacular views of the Trans-Mississippi West were made during the era of the post-Civil War exploration. The library has garnered several exquisite photo albums, books with original photos, and individual prints recording these heroic deeds of western exploration.

The Ferdinand V. Hayden Survey (1871-1872) delved the mysterious region of the Yellowstone, and for documentary purposes, William Henry Jackson accompanied the expedition as its official photographer. From this memorable trip, the library has a deluxe folio volume of thirty-seven handsomely mounted albumen prints entitled *Photographs of the Yellowstone National Park and Views in Montana and Wyoming Territories, 1873*. In addition to this, the Huntington recently acquired a fine selection of 128 8" x 10" Jackson landscape views of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, Geyser Basin, Old Faithful, the Grand Tetons, and Mesa Verde.

In many ways, the Colorado River presented the photographer with the ultimate challenge: to capture its grandeur while at the same time survive its awesome physical force. The Huntington has procured a substantial body of material recording the exploits of various expeditions from 1871 to 1940. The John Wesley Powell Expeditions of 1871 and 1872 were accompanied by photographers Jack Hillers, E. O. Beaman, and James Fennemore. Together, they took scores of popular stereoptican views which have been added to others in the photo file over the years. When Lieutenant George M. Wheeler ascended the Colorado, his expedition was visually documented by the cameras of Timothy O'Sullivan and William Bell. O'Sullivan, the accomplished Civil War photographer, secured the first photos of the Grand Canyon on this quixotic expedition. As part of the official reports of the survey, the library obtained a volume of 45 finely finished and elegantly mounted 8" x 11" views of Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico by O'Sullivan and Bell entitled *Photographs Showing Landscapes, Geological and Other Features of Portions of the Western Territory of the United States . . . obtained in the season 1871, 1872, and 1873*. The Huntington contains other significant collections depicting the history of that wild river, as well.

Construction of the transcontinental railroad is documented by A. J. Russell's *The Great West Illustrated in a Series of Photographic Views Across the Continent*, taken along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. This, of course, is well-known for its inclusion of original 9" x 12" albumen photographs by the railroad's official photographer. On the Central Pacific segment, A. A. Hart of Sacramento secured over three hundred stereoptican views of railroad construction. Of these "Scenes in the Sierra Nevada Mountains," the Huntington owns close to 280.

Industrial California is strongly represented in the collection, as well. The oil industry is best documented by the mammoth picture file of Ralph Arnold, an engineer and consulting geologist. The Arnold Collection consists of 55 albums (all captioned) and thousands of negatives showing the industry from 1911-1956 in the western United States and portions of South America.

Collecting Indian photographs has been a strong point at the Huntington. Nearly every major tribe is represented, including some outstanding pictures of villages, reservations, Indian wars, and notable tribal leaders. Areas of emphasis include the Mission

Indians of California, the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, and the Indians of the Southwest.

The ethnographic record of Major G. W. Ingalls, an Indian agent, is the most comprehensive and significant collection. Ingalls, working among the Paiute and Five Civilized Tribes in the early 1870's, amassed an unusually fine collection of prints and wet-plate negatives. Photos of tribal leaders attired in black business suits, council meetings held in log cabins, and Indian children attending seminary schools graphically recorded the government's campaign to "civilize" the Indian. Many of the glass-plate negatives were made by the famed Powell expedition photographer, Jack Hillers, when he visited Ingalls in 1873 and 1875.

Another Indian agent, Major H. N. Rust of Pasadena, focused upon the Mission Indians of Southern California and the Hopis of Arizona in the 1890's. Noted as an avid collector of Indian artifacts and as a controversial agent, Rust compiled a pictorial record of the Indians under his jurisdiction. Among these were the Indians living at Temecula, Pala, Agua Caliente, Morongo, and Saboba. After retiring as agent, Rust, like many others, journeyed across the desert to study the mysterious Hopi Snake Dance. A. C. Vroman, the redoubtable amateur photographer, accompanied Rust on this 1895 trip and, as a result, the Rust albums contain many Vroman photos. A separate group of nineteen is inscribed on the verso with Vroman's original diary of that trip to the Hopi's mesa.

Capturing the vanishing life style of the American Indian inspired many turn-of-the-century photographers. Frederick I. Monsen and Carl Moon, whose collections are in the Huntington, were of that school. With this noble goal in mind, both Pasadena photographers plied their craft among the Indians of the Southwest. Monsen, a trained ethnologist, armed with two Kodaks, lived among the Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, Mojave, and Cocopah and recorded with admirable frankness their architecture, crafts, ceremonies, dances, and living habits between 1880 and 1890. Monsen presented the Huntington with 370 striking 11" x 17" signed sepia-toned prints made from his 4" x 5" negatives.

Carl Moon, on the other hand, concentrated on the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley from 1900 to 1920. Under the employ of Fred Harvey, Moon, formerly a painter, photographed his subjects in a more romantic vein than Monsen. In 1924, Moon gave to Mr. Huntington 270 of his finest sepia-toned prints.

Like several other research institutions, the Huntington possesses a complete set of Edward S. Curtis' Indians of North America and several other important ethnographic collections.

Because of the library's location, a great many of its photos are of Los Angeles and its environs, and without doubt, the Huntington possesses the most comprehensive record of Southern California. Countless prints document the area from the "Cow County" era to Los Angeles' rise as the industrial and population center of the West.

The most important and heaviest used single body of photographs is the C. C. Pierce Collection. Setting out to record for posterity the changing face of his rapidly growing city, Pierce copied the historic photographs of his Los Angeles predecessors and contemporaries. He served local historians by consolidating into one compact collection over 10,000 8" x 10" glossy views of nearly every aspect of Southern California history from the 1850's to the 1930's. The collection is particularly valuable for its pictures of Los Angeles streets, suburbs, portraits, and local industries.

Pasadena and the San Gabriel Valley are well documented through the photographs obtained through the acquisition of various manuscript collections. The Bradford Jackson Collection (1900-1937) superbly covers the development of the San Gabriel Valley in the early twentieth century, including the communities of Pomona, Glendora,

Pasadena, La Canada, La Crescenta, and Glendale. The history of the San Gabriel Mountains is thoroughly documented by the negative and slide collection of Will Thrall, the editor of *Trials Magazine* and preserver of Angeles National Forest. Other collections of note are the Los Angeles Railway photos and albums, the Sunkist Orange Company photos, and the Charles F. Saunders pictures of Southern California and the Southwest.

Northern California is not neglected. Representative views are found in great numbers, and many of the photos were made by San Francisco's leading galleries, including Morse, Bradley and Rulofson, Taber, Shew, Lawrence and Houseworth, Muybridge, and Watkins. The library owns a splendid copy of Muybridge's panorama of San Francisco in 1877 along with several other more common panoramas showing the effects of the earthquake and fire.

Eadweard Muybridge and Carleton E. Watkins stand out as California's great pioneer photographers. The Huntington's holdings of Watkins' photos rank among the best.

The library's local history file includes this 1903 summertime portrait at the Wilson Home in Lake Vineyard (San Marino) with (from left) Susan Patton, (future general) George S. Patton, Jr., Ruth Wilson Patton, Henry E. Huntington, George S. Patton, and Hancock Banning.



Three Sac and Fox Indian women posed with their babies c. 1875 in Oklahoma Territory for Jack Hillers.





On the plains - preparing to feed,
(buffalo chip fuel -)



Draughtsman William R. Hutton's view
of the Los Angeles plaza (above) in 1847
is regarded as the earliest known view
of the city.

Joseph G. Bruff's pencil
sketch (above) depicts a
party cooking over a fire
of buffalo chips while
camped on the plains on
their way to the California
gold fields.

OPPOSITE: This striking pencil sketch
of the Teton Sioux Begging Dance is one
of many original works by famed western
artist George Catlin now residing in the
Huntington collections.

Of special note are four large folio albums of 16" x 20" landscapes entitled *Summit of the Sierras*, *Central Pacific Railroad and Views Adjacent*, *Kern County*, and *Arizona and Views Adjacent to the Southern Pacific Railroad*. (Speculation has it that these lavishly bound volumes were obtained as a result of Collis Huntington's lifelong friendship with the photographer.)

California's "grandeur and subtlety and sudden contrast" captured the imagination of Edward Weston, as well. Recipient of the first Guggenheim fellowship in photography, Weston travelled through California and the West with his 8" x 10" graflex view camera and recorded the land's most salient features. Later, Weston presented to various institutions copies of his best prints, and the Huntington received a selection of over 500 signed and dated views by this brilliant photographer. Requests for Weston exhibits are a continuous occurrence at the Huntington.

The Huntington, unlike other research institutions, has not actively collected western art. It does, however, have several noteworthy collections of pencil sketches and watercolors. Some of these drawings are found as illustrations to diaries, while others are tipped into books. Original drawings are divided between the Manuscript and Rare Book departments, and the respective catalogs of both departments must be checked.

Most noteworthy are the 320 sketches drawn by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff illustrating the hardships incurred while journeying from Council Bluffs to the gold fields of California in 1850. Many of these have been published in Georgia W. Read and Ruth Ganines (eds.) *Gold Rush* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.) Of equal





A gold medal from the London Photo Salon was awarded to Monsen in 1912 for this Huntington Library photo of "Katzimo" or The Enchanted Mesa near Acoma pueblo in New Mexico.

significance are the 95 pencil sketches and watercolors of Alta and Baja California, 1847–1852, by the draughtsman, William R. Hutton. The views of Los Angeles are the earliest known of that city. Hutton's sketches are also important for their beautiful representations of the missions and rancheros at the time of the American Conquest. W. O. Waters published 56 of the Hutton drawings in *California 1847–1852* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1942). The sketchbooks of William Hayes Hilton include many handsome drawings of California, Arizona, Texas, and Mexico from 1858 to 1870. Carey S. Bliss published a selection of Hilton's work entitled *William Hayes Hilton. Sketches in the Southwest and Mexico, 1858–1877*. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1963).

Western Army forts from 1870 to 1890 were the subjects of Colonel Joseph Girard's pencil and brush. This collection of 34 watercolors shows Forts Apache, Yuma, Fettermen, Sanders, D. A. Russell, Fred Steele and many others during the peak years of Indian conflict. Charles Hammond's sketchbook containing 56 views from 1867 to 1877 is significant for its superbly executed pencil drawings of San Francisco, Eureka, and the Sandwich Islands.

The American Indian is rendered by two significant collections. In 1954, the Huntington purchased a fine lot of 254 separate pencil drawings, paintings, counterproofs, and engravings of paintings by George Catlin. The majority of these were intended to illustrate an unpublished manuscript entitled the "North American Indians in the Middle Nineteenth Century (1868–1870)." From Edward Ayer Burbank, Henry Huntington obtained 1500 portraits of American Indians. These include 52 red chalk drawings of California Indians. Burbank, at Huntington's request, copied these from his original set in the Newberry Library.

As one would expect, the Huntington's holdings of letter sheets and birds-eye views are impressive. The Huntington's letter sheets collection consists of 180 pieces arranged by Baird number. Also, the library houses 190 birds-eye views of various California cities.

Importantly, this vast array of pictorial material has proven over the past several years to be a source of creative strength for scholars, students, businesses, and public media programs. Huntington pictures are readily made available for reproduction in worthy publications. Lastly, the pictorial treasures in the Huntington have contributed significantly to enhancing the institution's own programs of exhibits, publications and lectures.

Book Reviews

THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE MODOC WAR. By Jeff C. Riddle (Eugene, Oregon: Urion Press, 1974. 295 pp. Illustrations. Paper \$3.95, cloth. \$6.95)

Reviewed by RICHARD DILLON, librarian of San Francisco's Sutro Library.

It is difficult, indeed, for a reviewer to be unkind to a new book when the blurb copy on its cover quotes his very own syllables! " 'Absolutely essential'—Richard Dillon"—how can you argue with yourself?

But a book which is essential as a research source to a working writer may or may not be all that necessary to a general reader of California history. Luckily, the words of yesteryear do not come a'haunting back. Jeff Riddle's book would be a bargain, especially at the trade paperback format (or so-called quality paperback) price, if only for the illustrations alone. There are ninety historic photos, some by Muybridge. And his is a fascinating story of surely the most unnecessary Indian war in California and Oregon history, if not in the entire chronicle of the U.S. of A.

Moreover, Riddle's book is as essential to any serious collection of California history, or American Indian history, as its descendant, my own wide-angle view of the conflict, *Burnt-Out Fires*, which profited from the advantages of documentation and perspective unavailable to Riddle in 1914. We should be grateful for the rescue of Riddle by the Urion Press of A. H. Rosenus.

Earlier, Urion republished Joaquin Miller's *Unwritten History: Life Among the Modocs*. This is a book deserving reissue though perhaps not a minor classic, as sometimes described. It is flawed, as history, by Miller's wild imagination and cavalier fibbing. It might more properly have been titled *Life Among the Shastas and Pit Rivers*. When the Modoc War came along in 1872, Miller doctored his manuscript to ride the coattails of the tragic Captain Jack to a kind of best-sellerdom.

Jeff Riddle's book is honest where Miller's is phoney, simple and naive where Joaquin's is poetic and prosy. The former wrote a good, but forgotten, book. It is much more than an historical relic, or a nostalgic curio in letterpress type. It is a very informative document.

Perhaps most important, it is a very early (1914) attempt to present the Indian side of a part of our history. Because Riddle was "an Indian," he did not get the hearing he deserved sixty years ago. Ironically, the more militant of pro-Indian readers today may not want to read him either, since he was a half-blood and not a "pure" Native American. And, probably because he belonged to both races, he felt himself caught in the middle. He could not identify completely with either side in the struggle, but placed praise and blame where it belonged in both camps.

There are flaws in this book, to be sure. Jeff Riddle was uneducated, his views sometimes simplistic, naive. And he was only a kid during the Modoc War. But he was as honest and fair as he knew how to be and generally reliable. Not only was he involved in the war, knowing the key participants on both sides personally; he was an eyewitness to some of the most important and dramatic incidents of the campaign.

Jeff was the son of the Modoc heroine of the war, Tobey Riddle, alias Wi-ne-ma, wife of white interpreter Frank Riddle. She was a woman of outstanding character, dignity, compassion, and courage. She was our Pocahontas, our Sacajawea. Yet she is virtually unknown beyond the Siskiyou country. This is not only because she was a woman. The other real heroes of the Modoc War including John Fairchild and Elijah Steele are even more neglected. The reason is that they were also peacemakers, and the

jingoists on both sides have been deemed more colorful and dramatic because they sought glory (*i.e.*, blood) rather than harmony and peace.

Jeff Riddle's account is as close as you can ever get to the war in the Lava Beds and what really went on in the heads of Captain Jack and Scar-faced Charlie, as well as General Canby. This book, not Miller's, is "a minor classic" of Californiana.

THE WATER SEEKERS. By Remi A. Nadeau. (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974. 278 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by PAUL S. TAYLOR, *agricultural economist and historian.*

This book describes the twentieth-century search for water to enlarge the population of Los Angeles and Southern California. Nadeau's story, originally published in 1950, begins with the transfer of Owens Valley water through a 223-mile aqueduct, a move which displaced earlier plans for a federally financed reclamation project to develop Owens Valley. The clash of local and Los Angeles interests is told in detailed and human terms. Without public forum in which to plead for protection or recompense, local disaffection erupted in occasional dynamiting of the water conduit and gatherings of armed valley citizens to block construction.

The account begins with the desire of William Mulholland for engineering achievement and of Los Angeles businessmen for investment opportunity through development. The outcome in Owens Valley, according to Nadeau, was "neglected fields and empty farmhouses remaining on lands acquired by the city's purchasing agents." The epoch ended with the closing of Owens Valley banks and conviction of its leading bankers of felony; they used bank funds to support the valley's defense against inroads upon its water resources.

A second episode in the search for water ended in disaster to lives and property. In the early 1920's construction of a coast-range reservoir was proposed. Deterred by demands for an "extravagant price" for one site, Mulholland turned to an alternative reservoir site in San Francisquito Canyon. In 1929 the dam gave way in a disastrous flood. Investigators agreed that although the concrete in the dam was faultless, it had been erected on poor rock foundations. Accepting responsibility, Mulholland said, "Fasten it on me if there was any error of judgment—human judgment—I am that human."

The Colorado River was another objective in the search for water. Action by Los Angeles was preceded by private developers' decisions to divert river waters into Imperial Valley. Uncertain of their water rights under United States law, the developers cut the river bank on the Mexican side of the international boundary, creating a conflict of interests that survives to this day. Soon the river broke its silted bank in a disastrous flood that threatened to inundate the Imperial Valley. Heroic measures by the Southern Pacific Railroad closed the breach, bringing security to the valley temporarily. For the next two decades political pressures accumulated to build an All-American canal to check enlargement of Mexican rights to river waters and a Boulder Canyon dam to protect the Imperial Valley permanently, to generate power, and to impound water for Southern California.

As the search for water continued, it came into conflict with water interests as far away as the Feather and Eel rivers in Northern California, the Columbia, and even the Rio Grande. These other interests challenged the ambitions of Southern California and, together with aroused conservationists' concern over damming the Grand Canyon, they checked, at least temporarily, the ambitions of Arizona and California developers. In summing up, Nadeau reflects, "In the final analysis the water seekers will have to

abandon their quest because its justification is gone. They have been defeated by their own success. They brought in so much water for so many people that few cared anymore whether Los Angeles grew at all. No longer can the 'water for growth' argument have the old magic at the polls."

The author does not discuss the acute differences over the reclamation law's requirements of residency and acreage limitation. He writes in a vivid style which is easy on readers.

YERBA BUENA: LAND GRAB AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE IN SAN FRANCISCO. By Chester Hartman, *et al.* (San Francisco, Glide Publications, 1974. 233 pp. Illustrations, index. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$4.95.)

Reviewed by FREDERICK M. WIRT, *director of the Policy Sciences Graduate Program at the University of Maryland Baltimore County.*

The truly huge wealth of America has always been associated with the land, either with what is in it or on it. In this respect, California's history matches that of all the other states, although it is better known through being romanticized. Gold, silver, wheat, farm produce, citrus fruit, railroads—all those fabled sources of California's wealth—were mined, cultivated, or laid over the land.

Nor has this changed today, as Chester Hartman's study of land development in San Francisco clearly and painstakingly details with graphic typography. For in analyzing how this city undertook a massive urban redevelopment project, he documents the new politics of profit here—and in every major city. This power game assembles willing partners in a coalition of private and governmental interests. In the process, the partners benefit, but because there is no such thing as a free lunch, someone loses out. Until very recently, there was no one to notice and defend the losers.

Up to a point, this account could have been written of any redevelopment project anywhere in the nation, for it follows many of the findings of the broader critique of this program found in William Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer*. There were the same commercial interests found elsewhere—hotelliers, restaurateurs, construction companies, bankers. In this case they wanted a high-rise complex of hotel, convention hall, and shops, called the Yerba Buena Center. They wanted it either because of the tourists who would be attracted or because of the profit on the concrete and steel its construction would entail. The local media wagged along behind this group, faithfully baying to all that a miracle was in the making. And the city officials, led by a series of energetic mayors, worked to align public authority behind this private venture.

Familiar also is what happened to those displaced by this multimillion dollar project. Promises were made to the sponsoring federal agency—HUD—about relocating these people—down-and-outers known to every city—and thereafter ignored. With much grumbling, many relocatees left for what they regarded as worse housing. Right behind them came the razing and earth movers until a section was leveled which all those behind the YBC assured one and all had been a "blighted" zone.

To this point, all is familiar, but something happened next which illustrates a potential reshaping of power in American communities, a process detectable in this and other local policies. A new coalition appeared on the scene, composed of disgruntled neighborhood citizens, poverty program lawyers, university researchers, and the federal judiciary. For this anti-cohort took to federal court the pro-cohort of YBC developers and in the event compelled the "power structure" to stop its evasion of federal law. The citizens hired lawyers, recruited expertise (financed by federal OEO funds), and went

through dreary rounds of litigation to secure adequate, relocated housing for some of them.

In the process, the redevelopment agency was discredited for its insensitivity to the law and human needs. Federal judges and City Hall became disenchanted with the once unquestioned goals and power of the agency. This decline was triggered by the "powerless" newly empowered by federal resources of law and expertise. But in the end, as is often the case in American politics, the result was a compromise. Both sides, while getting less than they needed, are now committed to completion of the Center.

Much is learned in the San Francisco story about the decision process of the new land politics: the enchantment of the redevelopment concept, public indifference to those hurt by it, the limits of litigation as a strategy. Hartman's call for a "unified political struggle [without which] lower income groups face a dismal future in our cities" is heart-warming, but his account offers more pessimism than hope about that future. Too, if his economic analysis is valid—and it is strongly supported—the moderate-income group also will suffer, if not leave the city.

The problem lies with clashing visions of the good life, for as Aristotle noted 2,500 years ago, "Men came to cities to live and stayed there to live well." Hartman, objective but not neutral, provides a modern look at that clash over what it means "to live well." It is an old conflict, too. San Franciscans, who like to think their past was different from their present, should know this dispute was born with their city. For in 1847, when it had only 30 houses, the first clash of these conflicting visions came over the first town survey. (See Geoffrey P. Mawn, "Framework for Destiny: San Francisco, 1847," *CHQ*, 1:165-78 (Summer, 1972).

MILLS AND MARKETS: A HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC COAST LUMBER INDUSTRY TO 1900. By Thomas R. Cox. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974. xx, 332 pp. Illustrations, index, appendices, selected bibliography. \$17.50.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, *editor, Journal of Forest History, Santa Cruz.*

In *Mills and Markets* Thomas R. Cox has managed the rare feat of synthesizing a broadly varied and comprehensive base of source materials into a sweeping and important work on the Pacific Coast lumber trade, beginning with its eighteenth century origins in Hispanic California. Beautifully written, Cox's study is at once scholarly, lucid, and excitingly paced.

In 1776 the *San Antonio* sailed under Don Diego Choquet to Monterey to pick up a cargo of pit-sawn timbers for the missions of Alta California. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, hand logging operations developed in the redwood region of Monterey-Santa Cruz, resulting in cargo exports by Thomas O. Larkin, the first and only American consul in Alta California. Thus began the Pacific Coast lumber trade, and here, as throughout the book, Cox paints the major characters and their enterprises with a fine brush and an eye for detail, carefully and persistently tracing the relationship between production and marketing of timber products.

As the construction boom generated by the Gold Rush was followed by rapid development of cargo sawmills and sea transport, San Francisco became the dominant source of investment capital, a major market, and the center of lumber industry operations. When demand declined in coastal cities, mills with newly expanded production capacity aggressively sought markets in the Pacific Basin, often surviving through the business acumen of shrewd sailing captains who disposed of their cargoes. Cox's account of the export trade, of foreign markets and the conditions that shaped them is excellent.

Among the most important chapters in Cox's work are those on railroads and technological change. Inherent in the nature of lumbering, timber cutting proceeded ever farther from the mills, increasing the time and expense of getting logs from the woods. The arrival of steam locomotives in the woods, along with powerful, steam-driven cable hauling devices, displaced the slower, more troublesome use of oxen, mules, and horses. Improvements in steel cable and saws, new inventions and mechanization processes, and improved mill and vessel design combined to make production more efficient and more immediately responsive to market demands. The sections here and elsewhere on maritime cargo vessels, their design and construction, operation, and problems are clearly and fully developed. Cox clarifies the role of the transcontinental railroads with respect to the coastal lumber industry, quickly disposing of the facile assumption that rail access to midwestern and eastern markets would bring new prosperity to northwestern mills. The land grant disposal policy of the railroads is touched upon but is not dealt with adequately. In fact, in sharp contrast to the detailed explication of other financial and operational aspects of the Pacific Coast lumber trade, timberland acquisition receives little attention throughout the book.

In an overall sense Cox develops a vivid portrait of a fragmented and highly competitive industry constantly facing problems of overproduction and market instability. Industry attempts to cooperatively curtail production and stabilize prices failed, and Cox is intrigued by the contrasting successful centralization efforts in the petroleum, steel, and tobacco industries. The comparison, however, is not developed at length, and Cox dismisses the issue with a wave of the hand, explaining the failure of cooperative efforts among lumber companies as "... inherent to the industry. ..."

In sum, *Mills and Markets* presents a wealth of information within a structure of effective chapter organization. The index is thorough and useful, and the selected bibliography clearly indicates the depth and extent of research. Cox's excellent study is an important contribution to the history of the West.

THE KING'S HIGHWAY IN BAJA CALIFORNIA. By Harry Crosby. (Salt Lake City: Copley Books, 1974. 182 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$14.50.)

Reviewed by W. MICHAEL MATHES, *professor of history at the University of San Francisco.*

By the time of this writing, thousands of tourists will have travelled the length of the Baja California peninsula by automobile and enjoyed the asphalt surface of the new Transpeninsular Highway, but few persons in modern times have used the time-honored mode of transport used by Harry Crosby—the mule. From the founding of the first mission in the Californias by the Jesuits at Loreto in 1697 to the establishment of the last mission by the Dominicans in 1834 at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte, the mule was the basic form of travel on the peninsula and the means by which missionaries, soldiers, and civilians traversed the Camino Real from Cabo San Lucas to San Diego.

Commissioned by the Copley Press to photograph for *The Call to California* the route used by Fray Junípero Serra, Gaspar de Portolá, and Fernando de Rivera y Moncada from Loreto to Alta California in 1769, Harry Crosby, in company with Paul Ganster and various *arrieros*, set out in 1967 to retrace the Royal Road of the missionaries which joined the peninsular missions. The adventures and reflections of this expedition from Loreto to San Fernando Velicatá are well told and illustrated in this new and informative book.

Following a brief historical survey of Baja California from 1533 to 1769 and some basic information relative to its ethnography, *flora*, and *fauna*, the author begins his personal narrative of the trip from Loreto to San Javier, Comondú, La Purísima, and thence into the Sierra de Guadalupe. Interspersed with historical data, descriptions of the topography, difficulties of muleback travel, ranches and ranchers, plants, and historical sites make interesting and informative reading, for the reader soon begins to capture the flavor of back-country Baja California and the warmth of its inhabitants.

As Crosby penetrates the Sierra he notes the uniqueness of housing, equipment, and families while en route to San Ignacio. From that once important base for northward expansion, he proceeds through the Sierra de San Borja where he views and describes some extraordinary cave paintings, to Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco Borja, Calamajue, Santa María de los Angeles, and San Fernando Velicatá along the rugged but remarkably well preserved, rock-lined, wide road.

Excellent maps and photographs by the author accompany the text which is enhanced by descriptive quotations from Baegert, Gabb, Castillo Negrete, Bull, and other historical travellers. Crosby has done an excellent job of describing the people and places of interior Baja California, and he reflects a true understanding and love of them. His historical data is general but accurate, and his conclusions are sound. Fortunately, unlike many authors of popular books relative to the peninsula, Crosby correctly marks as absurd the search for alleged buried treasure at the missions and decries their wanton destruction by treasure seekers.

Leaving the Camino Real at San Fernando, the author followed the Serra trail through the Sierra San Pedro Mártir and sold his mules at the Meling Ranch. To those of us who have travelled the peninsula for years and, hopefully for those who have not, there is a sense of loss when this book ends, so well has the adventure been told. A valuable addition to Baja Californiana, *The King's Highway* combines history and personal narrative with interesting data and important maps.

GREENE & GREENE, ARCHITECTS IN THE RESIDENTIAL STYLE. By William R. and Karen Current. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1974. 128 pp. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

A GREENE & GREENE GUIDE. By Janann Strand. (Pasadena: Castle Press, 1974. vii, 112 pp. Illustrations. \$8.00.)

BUILDING WITH NATURE: ROOTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION TRADITION. By Leslie Mandelson Freudenheim and Elizabeth Sacks Sussman. (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974. iv, 112 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by ELINOR RICHEY, *author of* The Ultimate Victorians of the Continental Side of San Francisco Bay (1970); Remain to be Seen: Historic California Houses Open to the Public (1973); *and of a book of historical biographies tentatively titled* Pathbreaking Women *scheduled for publication this fall.*

Nature recently zephyred back into vogue. Periodically, we return to the comforting primitive mood, a security blanket in anxious times. Today's loom-weavers, thickets of house plants, hammocks, and Granola are one in spirit with yesteryear's mania for handcrafted furniture, loose-flowing garments, grape diets, and *al fresco* living rooms. Because nature generally is equated with the old, rarely do these symbolic returns to the forest inspire something new. Even more rarely is the inspiration lasting.

These three books deal with the architectural expression of the last popular return to nature in those years surrounding the turn of the century. Specifically, they assess the expressions of two California communities in which evolved a dwelling so livable as to change the course of American domestic architecture. The communities were Pasadena and Berkeley, and the architectural style they spun out of the nature craze—for natural materials, fresh air, freedom of movement, casual life styles, and indoor intimacy with outdoors—was, of course, the bungalow. The chunky unpretentious style also owed a thing or two to the missions and to Swiss and Japanese construction, and it borrowed its name from the English army barracks of India. But the dwelling that radiated the appeal of a wholesome country girl was indubitably Californian. During the teens and twenties the bungalow became ubiquitous across the land and later provided the basic elements of succeeding styles.

In Pasadena, the chief innovators were the Greenes, Charles and Henry, to whom the *Currents'* book is an exciting introduction. To the bungalow the brothers brought a genius for design, a reverence for wood, and a rich architectural vocabulary. The *Currents'* excellent photographs and sensitive description let us pleasurably experience these charming houses and their lovingly-detailed interiors. But our guides are objective: we learn that the houses were dimly lit and that by designing the furniture and landscapes as well, the architects may have dominated their clients instead of freeing them. The knowledgeable text expertly places the Greenes' work in the context of world architectural movements.

The *Strand* book is more scrapbook than guidebook. Mainly it comprises sketches and blueprints of several-dozen Greene houses, together with comments culled from other sources, mostly contemporaneous observations that tend to be prolix and repetitious. Of value, however, is a comprehensive list of extant Greene houses and their locations.

In Berkeley the numerous elements and influences were coordinated to fit a different terrain, the bay-watching hillsides. Berkeley bungalows were less boxy and more rustic. They were also more varied, created by half-dozen gifted architects of whom Bernard Maybeck was the most influential. The Freudenheim-Sussman collaboration, which deals with this body of work, probably over-emphasizes the contribution of Joseph Worcester, while slighting Julia Morgan. Their informative text is marred somewhat by a piety of tone and excessive peripheral detail. The photographs are splendid.

Berkeley's version of the bungalow has proved the most lasting, having evolved with minor changes into the delightful Bay Region Style that today hides among the leaves of the coastal hills. But its Pasadena cousin contributed more to the average American dwelling, such as the suburban ranch house. As some wag has said, the ranch house is a bungalow pulled out like taffy and bent.

California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

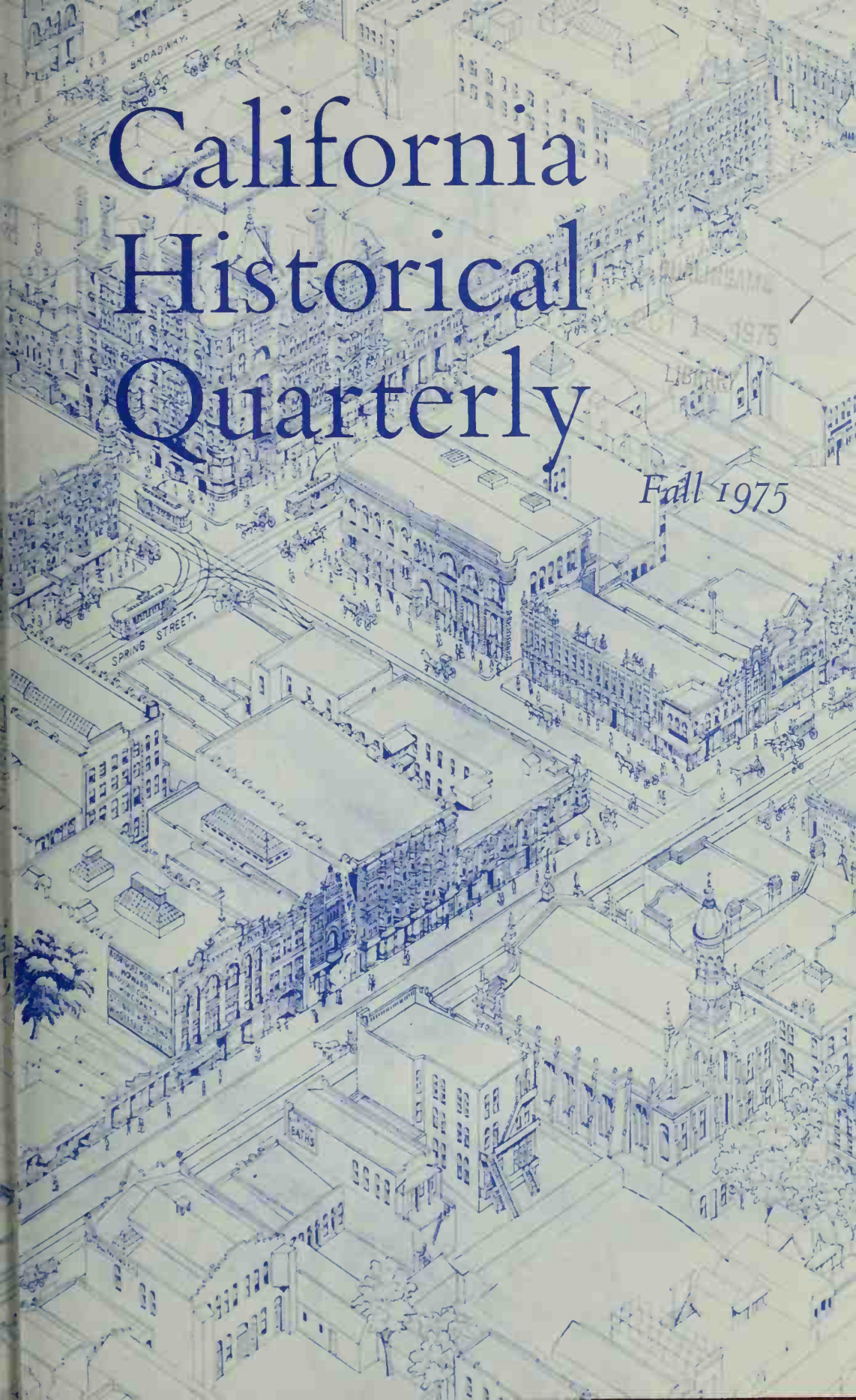
We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

- ABAG. *Conserve—Toward Community Strategies for Conserving . . .* Berkeley: Association of Bay Area Governments, 1975. \$2.50. Publisher, Hotel Claremont, Berkeley, CA 94705.
- Alcatraz: A Visual Essay.* San Francisco: Cameron and Co., [1974] 96 pp. Illustrations.
- Avakian, Anne M., Compiler. *Armenia and the Armenians in Academic Dissertations.* Berkeley: Professional Press, Inc. [c1974] 38 pp. Compiler, 2727 Parker Street, Berkeley, CA 94904.
- Bates, Mrs. D. B. *Incidents on Land and Water.* New York: Arno Press. 1974. 363 pp. Illustrations.
- Braasch, Barbara. *Sunset Guide to Southern California.* Menlo Park: Lane Pub. Co., 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95.
- Bradley, Glenn D. *The Story of the Pony Express.* Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1913, republished 1974. 175 pp. \$9.50. Publisher, Book Tower, Detroit, MI 48226.
- Brant, Michelle. *Timeless Walks in San Francisco, a Historical Walking Guide . . .* Richmond: Lompa Press, 1975. 75 pp. \$3.35. Author, P.O. Box 68, Pt. Richmond, CA 94807.
- California, Legislature. Joint Committee on Legal Equality. *Women in the Justice System.* Los Angeles: Author, 1974. \$4.00. 286 pp. Author, Sacramento, CA.
- California Department of Water Resources, *The California Water Plan.* Sacramento: California Department of Water Resources. Free. Author, P.O. Box 388, Sacramento, CA 95802.
- California State Land Commission. *Draft Inventory of Unconveyed State School Lands and Tide and Submerged Lands . . .* [Sacramento] Author, 1975. Unpaged. Maps. Author, 1807 13th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.
- Cameron, Robert. *Alcatraz.* San Francisco: Cameron and Co., 1974. 96 pp. Illustrations.
- Cardona, Nicholas de. *Geographic and Hydrographic Descriptions of Many Northern Lands and Seas in the Indies.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 112 pp. Illustrations. \$18.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Chaput, Donald. *Francois X. Aubry.* Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1974. 250 pp. Illustrations. \$15.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 230, Glendale, CA 91209.
- Chase, John. *The Sidewalk Companion to Santa Cruz Architecture.* [Santa Cruz: Santa Cruz Historical Society, 1975.] 250 pp. Illustrations. Maps. \$6.45. Publisher, P.O. Box 246, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.
- Clark, Walter Van Tilburg. *The Journals of Alfred Doten: 1849-1903.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975. \$60.00. 3 vols., 2400 pages.
- Duke, Alton. *When the Colorado River Quit the Ocean.* Yuma, Arizona: Southwest Printers, 1974. 122 pp. Illustrations. \$7.00.
- Elder, Jeane. *Walnut Creek Learns the Alphabet (From Settlement to Suburbia . . .).* Alamo: Holmgangers Press, 1974. 144 pp. \$3.50. Publisher, 22 Ardith Lane, Alamo, CA 94507.
- Evans, Paul. *Art Pottery of the United States.* New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1974.

- Fradkin, Philip L. *California: the Golden Coast*. New York: Viking Press, 1974. 110 pp. Illustrations.
- Frost: *Centennial Essays*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1974. 624 pp. \$17.50. Publisher, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, Miss. 39211.
- Gillett, Paul and Peter. *Imperial Valley's Lost Gold*. Yuma, Ariz.: Southwest Printers, 1974. \$1.50. Publisher, 2035 Arizona Avenue, Yuma, AZ 85364.
- Graham, Ron, John A. Kopec, and C. Kenneth Moore. *A Study of the Colt Single Action Army Revolver*. La Puente: A Study of the Single Action, 1974. 500 pp. Illustrations. \$34.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 218, La Puente, CA 91747.
- Grant, Campbell. *Rock Art of Baja California*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 146 pp. Illustrations, maps, portrait. \$24.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Gudde, Erwin C. *California Gold Camps*. Berkeley: University of California Press [1975?]. 578 pp. Illustrations. \$17.50.
- Heckrotte, Warren. *The Discovery of Humboldt Bay: A New Look at an Old Story*. Amsterdam: The Society for History of Discoveries. Author, 1663 Trestle Glen Road, Oakland, CA 94610.
- Heiser, Robert F. *Elizabethan California*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. \$3.50. 101 pp. Figures. Publisher, Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Johnson, Hank. *Death Valley Scotty, the Fastest Con in the West*. Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, [1974]. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.
- Johnson, Hank. *The Railroad that Lighted Southern California*. Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, 1974. 128 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 38, Corona del Mar, CA 92625.
- Kimes, Williams F., Introduction. *Rambles of John Muir*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 44 pp. Portrait, maps, Illustrations. \$7.50. Publisher, 535 Larchmont Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- MacDonald, James R. and Laurie. *Sabretooth Cats and Imperial Mammoths . . .* Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1974. \$2.95. Publisher, 474 South Arroyo Parkway, Pasadena, CA 91105.
- Martin, Cy and Jeannie. *Gold! and Where They Found It*. Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, c.1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 38, Corona del Mar, CA 92625.
- Martin, Fred. *Beulah Land*. San Francisco: Hansen Fuller Gallery, 1974. 16 pp. Hand-painted etchings. Limited edition. \$1500.00. Publisher, 228 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94108.
- Mason, Jack and Helen Van Cleave Park. *The Making of Marin*. Point Reyes Station: North Shore Books, 1974. Illustrations. Maps. \$8.25. Publisher, Box 293, Point Reyes Station, CA 94956.
- Mathes, W. Michael. *A Brief History of the Land of Calafia, 1533-1795*. La Paz: Gobierno del Territorio de Baja California Sur, 1974. 64 pages. \$2.50.1
- Melnick, Robert and Mimi. *Manhole Covers of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 82 pp. Illustrations. Publishers, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Mendocino County Historical Society, *The Mendocino Outlaws*. Ft. Bragg: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1974. 29 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 243 W. Bush Street, Ft. Bragg, CA 95437.
- Nadeau, Remi. *The Real Joaquin Murietta, Robin Hood, Hero, or Gangster?* Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 38, Corona del Mar, CA 92625.
- Nelson, Eugene. *Pablo Cruz and the American Dream*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1975. Illustrations. \$8.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 11606, Salt Lake City, UT 84111.
- North Bay Savings and Loan. *A Look at the Little Hills*. [Petaluma: Author, 1974.] 62 pp. Illustrations. Author, Petaluma, CA 94952.
- Perkins, David, and Norman Tanis, compilers. *Native Americans of North America: a Bibliography*. Northridge: California State University, Northridge, 1975. \$12.00. 558 pp. Compiler, The Library, California State University, Northridge, 18111 Nordhoff St., Northridge, CA 91324.
- Phillips, George Harwood. *Chiefs and Challenges*. Berkeley: University of California Press, [1975?] 224 pp. \$10.95.
- Posner, Walter H., Compiler. *A List of Master's Theses on the History of San Diego Written at San Diego State University*. San Diego: Malcolm A. Love Library, 1974. 7 pp. Publisher, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92115.
- Reinstedt, Randall A. *Ghosts, Bandits, and Legends of Old Monterey, . . . Carmel: Ghost*

- Town Publications, [1974] 48 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, Carmel, CA 93921.
- Ritchie, Ward. *The Dohenys of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 50 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Sandoval, José Andrés Cota. *Archivo Historico de Baja California sur Pablo L. Martinez . . . La Paz: Gobierno del Territorio de Baja California Sur, 1973*. 40 pp.
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- Shebl, James M. *King of the Mountains*. Stockton: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, 1974. \$4.50. Publisher, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211.
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- Smilie, Robert S. *The Sonoma Mission*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1974. 168 pp. Illustrations. \$13.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
- Smith, A. McCall, editor. *A Modern History of Tulare County*. Visalia: Limited Editions of Visalia, Inc. [c1974] 203 pp. Illustrations. \$19.50.
- Smith, Sarah Hathaway Bixby. *Adobe Days . . .* 4th edition. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1974. 142 pp. Illustrations. \$7.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
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- Stanford Research Institute. *Historic Preservation in San Francisco's Inner Mission*. Menlo Park: Author. 62 pp. \$2.00. Author, Menlo Park, CA 94025.
- Stanton, William. *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842*. Berkeley: University of California Press, [1974?] 426 pages. Illustrations. \$14.95.
- Starry, Roberta Martin. *Gold Gamble*. China Lake: Maturango Museum of Indian Wells Valley, 1975. 180 pp. Illustrations. \$4.25. Publisher, P.O. Box 5514, China Lake, CA 93555.
- Stenzel, Dr. Franz. *James Madison Alden*. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1974. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher, Fort Worth, TX 76101.
- Sullivan, Janet R., and Mary-Jane Zall. *The Survivors, Existing Homes and Buildings of Yuba and Sutter Counties' Past*. Marysville: Authors, 1974. 96 pp. Illustrations. \$6.50. Authors, P.O. Box 1765, Marysville, CA 95901.
- Sullivan, Sister Gabrielle. *Martin Murphy Jr., California Pioneer 1844-1884*. Stockton: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, 1974. 76 pp. \$4.50. Publisher, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95221.
- Summers, June Nay. *Buenos Dias, Tijuana*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. \$1.50. 50 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Weber, Francis J. *California's Catholic Heritage*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1974. 218 pp. \$12.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Weltor, Blythe. *From Fishcarts to Fiestas: The Story of San Clemente*. [San Clemente: D. and B. Symms, 1974.] 139 pp. Illustrations. Westerners, Los Angeles Corral. *Brand Book of the Westerners, Los Angeles Corral*. Glendale: Author, 1974. 252 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher, 1264 South Central Avenue, Glendale, CA 91204.
- Wilke, Philip J. *The Cahuilla Indians of the Colorado Desert: Ethnohistory and Prehistory*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. 73 pp. Figures. \$4.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Wirt, Frederick M. *Power in the City: Decision Making in San Francisco*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1974. 417 pp. \$12.50.

The first extensive catalogue of available books on the history of conservation, forestry, logging, and other forest-related topics was recently published by the Forest History Society in Santa Cruz, California. FOREST HISTORY BOOKS CATALOGUE 1974 contains over 180 titles representing many different publishers. Indexed by author and title for easy reference, the catalogue features sections on academic works, popular forest history, oral history, government publications, selected contemporary titles, and more. To obtain a copy, send \$1 to the Forest History Society, P.O. Box 1581, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.



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COVER: In less than a half-century, Los Angeles mushroomed from a tiny pueblo of 1,600 souls in 1850 to a thriving metropolis of 100,000 newcomers, most of whom had arrived after 1880. As evidenced by this unusual and painstakingly precise birdseye view of the downtown business section in 1895, this intense and condensed growth resulted in a striking architectural consistency, readily apparent in such landmarks as the Bryson Block (upper left), the Nadeau Hotel (upper right), and St. Vibiana's Cathedral on Main Street (lower right). For an overview of the archives of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History which contains this view and a wealth of other rare pictorial records, turn to the article beginning on page 272.

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California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV FALL 1975 NO. 3

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With necklace of animal claws and shells, Harry, a Hopi Snake priest, consented to be photographed by the redoubtable turn-of-the-century amateur photographer, Adam Clark Vroman. The Vroman collection is among several important photograph collections at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, described in the California history resources article beginning on page 272.

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When the Southern Pacific's first agricultural demonstration train rolled into Chico in November, 1908, skeptical but curious crowds visited the "University on Wheels" to meet agricultural experts and learn about innovations which would improve their livestock and crops. Hoping to stabilize and develop California's lagging economy, the railroad expanded the program until by 1913 its special trains were being visited by more than 100,000 farm people and rural school children.

The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865-1915

RICHARD J. ORSI

*Associate professor of history at California State University, Hayward,
interested in the history of western settlement.*

GREAT DREAMS AND HIGH EXPECTATIONS filled the air in May, 1869, when railroadmen and reporters gathered at Promontory Summit, Utah Territory, to witness the driving of the golden spike which completed America's first transcontinental railroad. In retrospect, however, the spike proved to be a symbolic pin touched to the balloon of naive dreams inflated by most Californians who anticipated that the railroad would end California's isolation and bring them unparalleled prosperity, cultural maturity, and social stability. Despite all predictions, settlers did not immediately flock to the state; legendary new markets, especially for California's farm products, proved elusive for several decades; and depressions which had periodically enmired the state since the decline of mining in the mid-1850's continued and worsened. Moreover, the organizers of the Central Pacific Railroad, a co-builder of the transcontinental road, quickly absorbed most water and rail competition, chiefly the Southern Pacific Railroad, which they built into a second transcontinental line by 1883. When California's Big Four—Crocker, Hopkins, Huntington, and Stanford—consolidated their monopoly interests into a gigantic holding firm, the Southern Pacific Company, in 1884, throughout the nation and particularly in California frustrated farmers and merchants and land seekers heaped their troubles, especially high transportation rates, slumping economic conditions, and the slowness of agricultural development, upon the highly visible railroad monopoly. For the rest of the century in California, hatred of the Southern Pacific and its tactics rallied the followers of a bevy of farm, business, labor, and political movements. In Frank Norris' classic novel, *The Octopus*, the author expressed a popular conclusion when he described the railroad as

the symbol of a vast power, huge, terrible, flinging the echo of its thunder over all the reaches of the valley, leaving blood and destruction in its path; the leviathan, with tentacles of steel clutching into the soil, the soulless Force, the iron-hearted Power, the monster, the Colossus, the Octopus.¹

By accepting the rhetoric of the Southern Pacific's nineteenth-century critics, historians have generally perpetuated the view that until the "progressive" victory in 1910, the railroad was the major instigator of corruption, the principal antagonist of farmers, and the primary obstacle to economic development and political reform in California.² It would be idle to deny the essential truth of many historical accounts of the Southern Pacific. The company was indeed a huge monopoly which deployed an arsenal of weapons, including bribery, power politics, and economic reprisals, in order to defend its domain. Moreover, the railroad's needs often conflicted with those of other groups. Unfortunately, however, the traditional framework for interpreting the Southern Pacific has focused attention on questions and problems which no longer yield new insights. By dutifully, and often accurately, reciting the depredations of the Big Four, historians have ignored the complexity of the Southern Pacific, for generations the state's largest economic institution, and its important role in the process of growth and change which revolutionized California between 1869 and 1915. The extensive agricultural and land promotional activities of the Southern Pacific and its officials suggest that, contrary to the traditional interpretation, the railroad during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in many ways linked its own interest with the progress of the state. In response to expansion and change within itself and the national industry, the corporation evolved an extensive, specialized organization whose middle-level executives—generally overlooked by historians who have emphasized the more spectacular careers of the Big Four—acquired considerable expertise and responsibility for fostering development. As a result, the company often used its organizational and financial power to strengthen and diversify California's economy, to stabilize her chaotic society, and to further the welfare of her citizens, including farmers.³

Despite the irreconcilable conflict traditionally assumed to have existed between the railroad and the public good, many lines of self-interest bound the Southern Pacific to the welfare of Californians. Successful railroad operations in several areas depended on social and economic progress in California. Freight and passenger traffic, the principal source of the railroad's income, was of course directly related to the population and economy of the state, as was the value and marketability of the railroad's extensive land grant, scattered throughout the Central Valley, the foothills of the Sierra, and the southern deserts. Financing the expansion of the Central and Southern Pacific lines, a constant source of anxiety to Collis P. Huntington and other associates, was also based upon such factors as traffic revenues, land-grant sales, and the general economy of California.⁴

Because of its financial dependence on progress in the state, the Southern Pacific was profoundly affected by California's arrested development. Caught in the breach between a declining mining industry and sluggish agricultural development, California in the period from 1869 to 1900 suffered chronic depressions, punctuated with sudden speculative flurries and collapses in mining stocks or real estate. Despite many real gains, the state's instability signified an unbalanced, immature economy, heavily dependent on the market for a few commodities: mining stocks, land, or grain. Although more diversified agriculture had been developing steadily since the 1850's, peculiar conditions in California continued to retard growth: land monopoly, the large amount of capital necessary to begin

and cultivate farms successfully, confusing and contradictory water laws, a lag in irrigation technology, the continuing dependence on mining and livestock and cereal agriculture, an imbalance in political power favoring the mining regions and San Francisco, and the formidable market disadvantages of distance and poor organization. These economic problems, along with the state's tenacious reputation for violence, drunkenness, and shortage of opportunity, kept California's population growth at disappointing levels. Although population, due largely to natural increase, grew from 560,000 in 1870 to 1,485,000 in 1900, California remained about twentieth in the ranks of states while other areas of the Middle and Far West were making spectacular gains.⁵

California's economic retardation impinged directly on the Southern Pacific's business. Frequent depressions, crop failures, and declines in population growth were a constant vexation to the company's officials. The prolonged depression from the mid-1870's to the early 1880's shrank land sales for the Central Pacific from \$1,203,870 in 1877 to \$201,716 in 1879 and for the Southern Pacific from \$365,811 to \$68,153 during the same period. Meanwhile, through-passenger traffic on the Central Pacific tumbled from 105,341 in 1875 to 62,056 in 1879 and failed to regain pre-depression numbers until 1883. Another long depression in California during the 1890's decreased traffic revenues and land sales and greatly increased the rate of default on land contracts.⁶ Depressed conditions in agriculture and industry also strengthened the inclination to make the Southern Pacific the scapegoat for the state's problems and spawned a variety of anti-corporate and anti-railroad movements among California's farmers, laborers, and even some businessmen.⁷

Impulses from within the railroad industry as well as external pressures also pushed the Southern Pacific to identify with California's development. Many historians have shown that during the last half of the nineteenth century self-interest led the land-grant railroads to advertise their territories, promote compact settlement by small farmers, and encourage agricultural diversity and stability. By the 1880's railway land, advertising, and agricultural departments, through extensive interchange of personnel and information on effective land policies, had become largely professionalized and standardized. The California railroads, in sponsoring growth in California, were merely applying well-tested principles of railroading to the specific problems of California. Rivalry among the land-grant roads likewise spurred the Southern Pacific to greater promotional efforts. During the 1880's, western railroads raced to expand and consolidate their domains by redoubling their efforts to sell land and populate their regions. Well aware that success would swell profits while failure meant possible receivership, Southern Pacific executives increasingly devoted the resources of the railroad to developing California.⁸

The Big Four wisely chose long-time residents of California to design and manage development programs. The careers of these officials before, during, and after their work for the railroad—in the fields of government, journalism, agriculture, and science—demonstrate that they were men who identified with social and economic progress in California and who viewed railroad employment as another dimension of that larger task. Before Benjamin B. Redding's appointment as chief land agent in the mid-1860's, he had dabbled in mining, journalism,

and law and had been elected secretary of state. While land agent, Redding also became a leading authority and writer on climate, agriculture, and natural science, an organizer and patron of the California Academy of Sciences, a commissioner of the state fisheries, and a regent of the University of California.⁹ William H. Mills, who directed Southern Pacific land and advertising programs from Redding's death in 1882 until his own in 1907, had been editor and proprietor of the *Sacramento Record-Union* and a leader of prison reform, temperance, and anti-hydraulic mining movements. Later Mills was an active member of the state Yosemite Park commission and an organizer of various conservation, irrigation, and agricultural reform movements.¹⁰ Similar career patterns could also be traced for such officials as Jerome Madden, long-time assistant agent specifically in charge of the Southern Pacific Railroad lands, I. N. Hoag, immigration commissioner in the 1880's, Charles B. Turrill, exposition manager in the 1880's and 1890's, and James Horsburgh, director of advertising for the passenger department in the 1890's and early 1900's.¹¹

Like many other leaders working within a variety of government agencies, agricultural and commercial organizations, and more specialized immigration promotion groups, Southern Pacific officials were convinced that California's future, and thus the railroad's, depended upon the successful substitution of diversified agriculture for mining as the basis of the state's economy.¹² They thus designed the railroad's development programs especially to stimulate agricultural change. As early as 1863, Governor Leland Stanford, president of the newborn Central Pacific, opened the campaign with an address to the State Agricultural Society in which he proposed that Californians remedy the state's slack population growth by fostering easier transportation, perfecting the state's agricultural resources, and spreading "out before the farming communities of the other states authentic information, in the shape of reliable statistics, as to the productions of our soil, and the noble field that is here offered for the industrious and energetic farmer."¹³ Later executives, especially those in charge of the railroad's promotion programs, amplified Stanford's early support of agriculture. Land agent B. B. Redding also contributed many writings on agricultural topics, including irrigation, citrus and olive culture, wheat production, and climate. I. N. Hoag, a long-time booster of agriculture as secretary of the State Agricultural Society, early pioneer of silk culture, and agricultural editor of several San Francisco and Sacramento newspapers in the 1860's and 1870's, continued to publicize the need to revolutionize California farming after his appointment as assistant land agent for the Central Pacific in 1883 by travelling throughout the state, addressing local business and agricultural organizations, and writing articles for local newspapers.¹⁴

Probably the most articulate and systematic of the Southern Pacific agricultural promoters, however, was William H. Mills, chief land agent from 1883 to 1907. In many widely-reported speeches and writings, Mills attacked mining as the cause of the state's economic instability, social disorder, and sluggish population growth and appealed for more efforts to quicken California's farming life. Since "countries prolific of precious metals are proverbially poor," Mills maintained, California's progress could ultimately be built only upon an agricultural base. In the "fertility of our soils, and the expanded possibilities of our own climate," California would find the "hopeful direction of permanent greatness."¹⁵

Like other railroad leaders, Mills was dissatisfied with general farming or the growing of cereal crops, however, since these did not take full advantage of California's diverse climate, which duplicated that of many different agricultural regions of the world and gave the state the power to develop many high-value specialty crops. The building and improvement of railroad transportation enhanced this potential. Mills repeatedly pointed out that as freight rates declined between California and the population centers of eastern America, distinct agricultural regions in California, with their markets rapidly expanding, would be free to specialize even further in the crops for which they were ideally suited. The great variety among the state's local growing regions would ensure a diversity of specialty crops and a corresponding economic stability. Horticulture, then in the infant stages of development, would provide the most important specialization. Such an agricultural system, Mills assured Californians, would result in higher profits, more developed rural areas, increased land values, healthier urban economies, and greater population density.¹⁶

Of course Mills, along with other Southern Pacific officials, perceived that the maturation of commercialized agriculture would enrich the corporation, as well as the state's citizens. Even Collis P. Huntington, the target of some of the most vehement attacks by critics of the Southern Pacific, agreed that one of the best ways for the company to enlarge rail traffic was to refine agricultural techniques. Frequently, as in a detailed letter to Mills in 1894, Huntington called attention to foreign crops that might be introduced with profit into the state.¹⁷ His annual reports in the 1890's, after he had replaced Stanford as president of the Southern Pacific Company, also reflected Huntington's awareness that the railroad's destiny was linked directly to the success of California's farmers. The reports of 1891 through 1896, for instance, analyzed the impact of low wheat prices and other California economic troubles on the declining profits of the company but rejoiced that progress in irrigation, the subdivision of large tracts into small farms, and the development of horticulture foretold of better days to come. "The many advantages of climate and soil which the State of California offers to settlers are becoming better known each year," he observed in 1892, "and as the large tracts of land are cut up and new sections are opened up by the railroads, there will be a steady increase in the population and material wealth of that State, and in which this company will receive its share in the improvement of its earnings."¹⁸ After control of the Southern Pacific shifted from the hands of the Big Four and their families at the turn of the century, the company's new leaders continued to relate the railroad's well being to agricultural development.¹⁹

The public pro-agricultural views of Southern Pacific leaders were embodied in many programs to assist and organize farmers and to overcome the state's internal problems which were delaying agricultural change. For example, the Southern Pacific provided powerful and possibly decisive support in the 1870's and early 1880's for the anti-hydraulic mining movement in the Sacramento Valley. The Sacramento *Record-Union*, edited by Mills and partially owned by the railroad, was instrumental in rallying support for the valley's farmers and in founding the Anti-Debris Association, which ultimately secured favorable court decisions preventing the dumping of hydraulic mining wastes into the valley's river system. I. N. Hoag, agricultural editor of the paper, served as secretary of



Benjamin Redding (right), the Southern Pacific's land agent from the 1860's, and William Mills (left), who succeeded him in 1882, became agricultural authorities committed to developing the state's economy.



the association until his appointment in 1883 as Mills's assistant in the Central Pacific's land department.²⁰ The *Record-Union* in the 1870's also supported the founding of local Granges, while Leland Stanford and David Colton helped the Grangers' Immigration Bureau reorganize itself in 1875.²¹ After his appointment as chief land agent for the Southern Pacific in 1883, Mills and other officials repeatedly exhorted farmers to form cooperatives to solve problems of overproduction and marketing.²²

When cooperatives finally emerged in the 1880's and 1890's, the railroad assisted them by encouraging farmers to join, improving refrigeration technology, running express fruit trains, and sponsoring advertising campaigns to widen and organize California fruit markets. Beginning with the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the railroad sent costly displays to eastern fairs, which helped establish California's reputation as a leading fruit-growing region.²³ As the company matured, it developed more specialized and systematic advertising techniques. In 1907, the Southern Pacific offered to match the advertising budget of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange in a concerted effort to expand eastern consumption of California oranges. From 1907 to 1911, the railroad and the Exchange cooperated to send lecturers, displays, posters, and "California Fruit Special" trains to the Middle West and other areas to increase orange sales several fold, to establish the "Sunkist" brand name, and, incidentally, to stimulate migration to California. Smaller-scale campaigns after 1900 also assisted the organized growers of raisins, prunes, and other deciduous fruits.²⁴ *Sunset*, the railway's promotional monthly, and other Southern Pacific organs also publicized California fruit. Frequently, railroad propaganda aimed at changing the eating habits of the young. The "California Prune Primer," a 1901 pamphlet designed as a supplemental reader for elementary school children and sent by the company to 100,000 teachers across the country, created a mild sensation. Teachers and parents deluged the railroad with requests for extra copies. Within a few months more than 500,000 had been distributed. The outcome of this experiment led the company to issue other California "primers" with equal success.²⁵

Since previous experience with eastern conditions proved a poor model for cultivation of the arid West, successful agricultural development depended on the accumulation of exact knowledge concerning the state's diverse and unique climates, soils, and pests. Possessed of the structure, capital, and will to accomplish

such a task, the Southern Pacific exerted a powerful influence on the collection and dissemination of organized agricultural information. As soon as they were established, local Southern Pacific stations, many in newly-settled regions beyond the scope of widely-scattered government weather stations, began to make systematic weather observations and to gather information on local soils, crop production, and water resources. From the late 1860's to the early 1900's, the railroad regularly furnished precipitation and temperature readings and other data to such agencies as the Army Signal Service, the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Coast Survey, and the University of California, who in turn used it in climatic reports and agricultural experiments.²⁶

Land department surveyors, graders, and other company officials by the 1870's were likewise building a fund of information about the agricultural potential of many localities. B. B. Redding was particularly active in the accumulation of climatological and soil statistics. Building upon regular observations made over a six-year period by local station agents and surveyors, Redding in 1877 compiled a detailed report on the soil and weather characteristics of the San Joaquin Valley from Tulare south to the Tehachapi Mountains, copies of which he provided to agricultural developers such as James B. Haggin and government agencies such as the United States Coast Survey.²⁷ Redding's growing knowledge of California's agricultural resources was also embodied in a multitude of valuable papers, one of which, "The Climate of California," remained among the most reprinted and influential summaries of the subject for several decades.²⁸ Redding also arranged for the railroad to assist Eugene W. Hilgard, the University of California's pioneer agricultural scientist, in his important early analysis of California soils. In 1880, the Southern Pacific assigned a young engineer, N. J. Willson, to work under Hilgard's direction. Trained by Hilgard in the techniques of taking soil samples and making field observations, Willson for three months travelled alone by handcar along the railroad's lines from the northern Sacramento Valley to the Mexican border. Persuaded by Willson's hundreds of samples and voluminous field notes that his own initial "impressions regarding the upper valley of the San Joaquin were not very correct," Hilgard used the information as the basis for the report on California agriculture he published as part of the census of 1880.²⁹

In these and other ways, the Southern Pacific became a leading patron of scientific farming in California. Especially after 1900, railroad officials did their best to attract experts to the state to overcome the complex problems hindering agricultural progress. When pear blight threatened to devastate several important deciduous orchard industries, James Horsburgh, assistant passenger agent, appealed to Governor George Pardee and Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, secured the services of M. B. Waite, plant pathologist for the Department of Agriculture, and kept him in California at his task despite the department's attempt to reassign him before his research had been completed.³⁰ Horsburgh also prevailed upon Governor Pardee to invite numerous national scientific bodies, such as the American Association of Farmers' Institute Workers, the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, and the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists, to hold their annual conventions in California. Occasionally, the Southern Pacific itself helped to organize the activities and pay the expenses of agricultural specialists. In the case of a 1905 visit by national

irrigation experts, railway officials accompanied the group throughout its ten-day stay, gathered distinguished California scientists and other residents to meet with them, and paid much of the cost of transportation, lodging, and entertainment.³¹

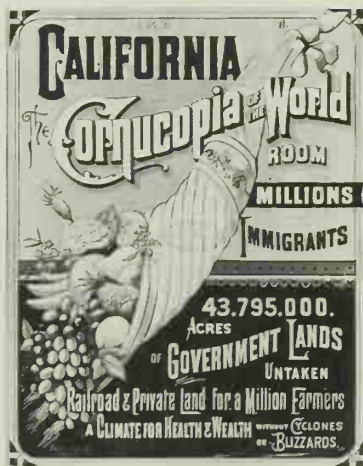
As new information and techniques accumulated, the railroad helped to educate farmers, especially by furthering the extension services of the University of California. *Sunset* regularly carried articles encouraging California's farmers to avail themselves of the latest developments in citrus growing, fruit harvesting and shipping, and agricultural education in schools and colleges.³² The railroad furnished free transportation for chemicals, plants, and farm produce used in agricultural experiments at the university, as well as free or half-fare tickets for the university's research and extension workers and their equipment.³³ In cooperation with the university and other agricultural research institutions, the railroad in 1908 began organizing and financing an annual "University on Wheels" to bring state experts and their innovations into every important agricultural community in the state. Composed of five to ten cars, these special trains featured lectures and demonstrations of new techniques in animal husbandry, fertilizers, cereals, horticulture, disease and pest control, poultry, irrigation, and home and farm sanitation. The scope of this service increased until by 1913 the "Agricultural and Horticultural Train" was annually travelling 6,000 miles, stopping at 237 towns, and being visited by more than 100,000 farmers and rural school children. Warren T. Clarke, superintendent of agricultural extension for the university, applauded this joint university-railroad venture as "the most extensive effort of the kind that has ever been put forth in any part of the country."³⁴

In addition to the shortage of reliable agricultural information, primitive and disorganized water management also stunted California's agricultural growth before World War I. Along with other promoters in state and local governments, businessmen's groups, and farm organizations, the Southern Pacific, whose officials perceived that intensive and diversified agriculture could never be built upon natural rainfall alone, became an important force behind both the expansion of irrigation and the gradual acceptance of public responsibility for orderly development and distribution of water resources. William H. Mills, the most active railroad advocate of water management, in many ways prefigured twentieth-century California water development. Having been introduced to the dangers of uncontrolled water usage by the periodic flooding of the Sacramento River and the hydraulic mining controversy, Mills believed that California's complex water problems could be solved only by a comprehensive, scientific, and long-range management program aimed at balancing the often conflicting requirements of flood control, irrigation, swamp drainage, and inland navigation. In editorials, speeches, and promotional activities from the 1870's to the 1900's, Mills campaigned for such a complete water program on the grounds that it was essential to economic development, agricultural and city growth, and increased population density.³⁵ Mills, as the leading founder and director of the California State Board of Trade, also converted that organization into one of the major pressure groups for irrigation development.³⁶ A perennial representative of the Board of Trade, the Southern Pacific, or the state governor to the irrigation congresses of the 1890's and early 1900's, Mills helped to popularize the concept that

long-range planning and equitable distribution required government ownership of water supplies. To prevent corporate interests from monopolizing public water resources and to ensure that California would become the home of small farmers, Mills, long before the Newlands Act of 1902, urged that the amount of water one land owner could receive from public reserves be limited to that needed to irrigate one family farm.³⁷

Linked to Mills's advocacy of irrigation development was his support of conservation. Believing that protection of watersheds, as well as the development of recreational facilities for an expanding population, required careful forest management, Mills, as editor of the *Record-Union* and later as land agent, became one of the first sponsors of scientific forestry in California.³⁸ In the 1880's as a leading member of the state commission to govern Yosemite Valley, Mills pressed with considerable success for more scientific administration of the park and supported the crusades of conservationists to protect Yosemite's beauty. After 1900, when political controversy and inadequate state funding continually eroded the commission's ability to develop the park, he became a leader in the movement to return it to the federal government. In cooperation with the Sierra Club, he authored the recession bill which was introduced into the state legislature and chaired a State Board of Trade committee to rally the support of business organizations across the state for its passage in early 1905.³⁹ Mills also helped establish Big Basin Redwoods State Park in the early 1900's. Appointed by Governor Henry Gage to the California Redwood Commission, he investigated the Big Basin area, negotiated the purchase of the land, brought forestry experts such as Gifford Pinchot to California to consult with the park's managers, and used company influences in Washington to get the federal government to withdraw from sale and grant to the state 3,000 acres of public land adjacent to the park.⁴⁰

Among the widely distributed railroad publications which encouraged emigration, land sales, and specialized agriculture was California, The Cornucopia of the World (1883). The pamphlet's illustrations featured "typical" agricultural fairs, irrigation projects, and fruit orchards.



Other Southern Pacific officials, in their writings and speeches from the 1870's to the 1900's, continually boosted the cause of irrigation and conservation in California.⁴¹ After 1900, *Sunset* became a major forum for writers, many of them state and federal experts, on the social and agricultural benefits of irrigation, publicly managed water resources, scientific forestry, and the preservation of endangered bird and animal species.⁴² When the Colorado River in 1905 began pouring through a break in an irrigation system and into the Imperial Valley, which was below sea level, the Southern Pacific performed its most direct services on behalf of irrigation in California. With its tracks and the valuable farms in the valley endangered, the railroad loaned \$450,000 to the California Development Company, manager of the irrigation system, constructed a special track to the gap, and in an all-out effort in January and February, 1907, succeeded in closing the opening, after an expenditure of over \$1,600,000. After the railroad absorbed the assets of the Development Company, which had failed due to the crisis, the Southern Pacific proved for nearly a decade to be an efficient organizer of the valley's water resources, thus laying the basis for a period of rapid development there.⁴³

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Southern Pacific's development program was the subdivision of much of the railroad's land grant into productive farms and the attraction of a larger population to cultivate them and consume their products. Contrary to the traditional view that the company was a deliberate land monopolist, refusing to sell in expectation of increased future values, the Southern Pacific, as other land-grant roads, undertook to dispose of its lands as quickly as possible, a task that required heroic expenditures of energy and money. As in the case of agricultural promotion, the railroad's efforts to boost land sales and immigration were rooted in enlightened self-interest. Land pamphlets and the reports of land officials repeatedly claimed that

the policy of the Company is and has always been, to sell its lands at low prices, and upon easy terms of payment. Its Directors believe its best interests are promoted by selling its lands near the line of the road to men who will personally cultivate the soil, and who will own the land they cultivate. By this means an industrious, agricultural population is invited, whose improvements and the product of whose labor, tend to enhance the value of the unsold lands.⁴⁴

Such public testimonials, commonly denounced by critics of the railroad as mere rhetoric, actually reflected a consistent company policy from the 1860's, when land patents first began to flow from the federal government, until the early 1900's when the Big Four lost control of the railroad. Huntington, for example, in his extensive private correspondence with Mark Hopkins in the 1870's, repeatedly returned to the theme of "the necessity of passing . . . [the lands] out of the ownership of the R.R.Co." in order not only to increase the value of the remaining lands, but also to help finance new construction, to reassure holders of mortgages that the lands were valuable, and to stimulate greater freight and passenger revenues.⁴⁵ To some extent, rapid sale of the land grant was also a logical outgrowth of the railroad's sponsorship of agricultural change in California. The most direct way for the Southern Pacific to stimulate the spread of agriculture, with all of its benefits for the railroad, was to convert its own vacant acres into producing farms.

Political considerations also shaped land policy. Appeasement of settlers and orderly disposal of the land grant would, company officials hoped, help reduce the growing adverse public opinion toward the Southern Pacific and protect the company's ability to profit from the lands. Periodically, railway leaders, in thwarting attempts by Congress to rescind their grant, pointed to voluminous sales as visible proof that the road was providing a valuable public service by subdividing its lands. Land agent Mills throughout the 1880's countered the Southern Pacific's critics with the argument that railroad retention of the lands would ensure that the company, out of its own self-interest, would continue to promote the state's growth. "The company, of course, is very anxious to settle the land in such a way that there would be a large amount of money to the transportation side of the account," he testified before the Pacific Railway Commission in 1887. "Here is an instance where the owner of the land is interested in the progress of settlement. The land pays the company, perhaps, much better after it is settled than it does by the price of it."⁴⁶ Such arguments proved quite successful for the Southern Pacific. In 1884, for instance, a bill in Congress to force the Central Pacific to forfeit the land which had been granted to the California and Oregon Railroad, now one of its subsidiaries, was widely opposed by California newspapers. For all its faults, many editors grudgingly admitted, the Central Pacific would probably develop the lands more rapidly than other owners, even the federal government.⁴⁷

In addition to their economic and political reasons for promoting rapid settlement of railroad lands, Southern Pacific officials also operated within the context of "agrarian" social ideas, so popular in the late nineteenth century among California boosters and many other Americans as well. Railroad promoters viewed land and its intensive cultivation as the ultimate basis of both wealth and social order. Not only would the expansion of farms cure California's economic ills and fatten railroad coffers, but it would also stabilize the state's society, a development from which the company also stood to gain. Redding, in an 1881 address on the necessity of promoting agricultural immigration to California, observed that the way to enhance social progress in the state was to

fasten men, by ownership, to the land they cultivate. This ownership converts the "tramp" into an industrious citizen; the agrarian and communist into conservative and law abiding members of our society; and the indifferent and thriftless into habits of prudence and economy. Every man who goes on the public land to make a home, not only adds to the wealth of the nation, and to the permanence and security of civilized society, but he becomes an additional surety for the enactment of just laws, for honesty and economy in public expenditures and for perpetuity of good government.⁴⁸

Southern Pacific promoters in the land and passenger departments such as William H. Mills and James Horsburgh, though they were for the most part urban businessmen, echoed Redding's sentiments well into the twentieth century.⁴⁹

The severity of California's social and economic problems and the Southern Pacific's commitment to their solution often led railroad officials to espouse more radical land views than might be expected from businessmen in the Gilded Age. Reputedly, Leland Stanford, after reading *Progress and Poverty* in 1880, declared himself to be a "disciple" of Henry George.⁵⁰ More importantly, William H. Mills, in a series of essays and addresses, denounced land monopoly as the state's

most debilitating illness and advanced methods to cure it which were reminiscent of George and other late nineteenth-century reformers. His most vigorous and comprehensive statement was given as a speech before San Francisco's Chit-Chat Club in December, 1891, which was ultimately published as a pamphlet, *California Land Holdings* (San Francisco, 1892), and widely reprinted and applauded by California newspapers. Drawing primarily upon the example of four Sacramento Valley counties, where population had either stagnated or declined because of growing concentration of land ownership in the 1880's, Mills condemned large land holdings for delaying economic growth, keeping rural areas thinly settled and undeveloped, degrading the common people, increasing the use of unskilled "tramp" or Chinese labor, generating class divisions and disorder, overcrowding the cities with unemployed people, and in other ways menacing the stability of a free society and government. In proposing methods to control land monopoly, Mills advanced beyond the views of other California promoters, who generally were satisfied with encouraging land owners to subdivide their property voluntarily. Since the public welfare, in his view, was superior to the rights of private property, Mills suggested that the California legislature prevent the mortgaging of land as security for loans, make illegal the accumulation of land by foreclosure of mortgages, and pass laws restricting land ownership to the amount that could be cultivated by one family. This could be accomplished partly by prohibiting the conveyance of more than 1,000 acres to any individual in a will. Excess lands should be sold for the estate at an auction supervised by the courts to ensure subdivision into small parcels. Mills's land and water ideas were closely interrelated. The preeminence of the small family farm in California could also be protected, he believed, by government development of water resources and limitations on the amount of public irrigation water allowed each customer.⁵¹

A combination of economic self-interest and acceptance by Southern Pacific officials of conventional social theory prompted the railroad in its promotional activities to emphasize, wherever possible, the creation of densely settled rural communities of small farmers. Railroad booster literature, ranging from subsidized writings such as Charles Nordhoff's popular works to official company pamphlets, typically stressed the important role of cooperative colonies in overcoming the social and economic impediments to California's agricultural advancement and described in considerable detail the successful operations of such settlements at Anaheim in the south and Fresno in the San Joaquin Valley. The *Sacramento Record-Union*, both before and after editor Mills became the company's land agent, was a leading advocate of agricultural colonies in the valleys of Northern California, persistently arguing from the 1870's onward that only by following the lead of pioneers to the south could the northern regions keep in step with agricultural change. Meanwhile, Southern Pacific officials, especially Mills, Redding, and Hoag, repeatedly exhorted Californians to pool their resources into colonies. Increasingly, the Southern Pacific's own land development agencies and its subsidiary land corporations rejected haphazard land disposal in favor of founding organized agricultural settlements as stimulants to land sales and freight and passenger traffic.⁵²

The Southern Pacific evolved a land sales and development program in the late nineteenth century resembling that of the other land-grant roads.⁵³ Land depart-

ments were organized for the Central Pacific, Southern Pacific, Western Pacific, and California and Oregon railroads from 1865 to the early 1880's. At first the promotional activities of the land departments tended to be haphazard, due to delays in receiving patents from the federal government, the time-consuming task of surveying and grading lands, the uncertainties of California agriculture, and the absorption of railroad energies in expansion and putting the company on a sound financial footing. Through the early 1880's sales were relatively small, and the company failed to institute a systematic advertising plan.⁵⁴ The early impediments began to be removed by the mid-1880's, however, when the stabilization of the company's affairs, the independence gained by the completion of the Southern Pacific's route to New Orleans, and an upsurge in California's economy invigorated the railroad's land programs. By May, 1883, when Mills announced the inauguration of an aggressive land and immigration program, the main features of the Southern Pacific's plan had taken shape.⁵⁵

Like the other land-grant railways, the Southern Pacific dispensed land pamphlets and placed newspaper advertisements describing the resources of its lands, as well as the general attractions of California. It also established a network of immigration agents throughout the world, including Hoag as immigration commissioner in Chicago. In addition, the railway channeled financial and transportation subsidies into California's growing booster organizations, which were attempting to promote agriculture settlement, and spawned many generations of California displays at local and international fairs.⁵⁶ In order to attract settlers and speed land sales, the Southern Pacific also introduced a credit system in the late 1860's which required minimal down payments and interest charges of only ten percent per annum. In several stages, the railroad liberalized its credit terms until by the early 1900's, purchasers had their choice of several low-cost plans. This service was valuable in a state which suffered from shortages of capital for agricultural enterprise. By the 1880's, the overwhelming majority of the railroad's land sales was on credit.⁵⁷ The churning of the Southern Pacific's propaganda machinery produced sharply increased land sales in the 1800's, and by the early 1900's, most of the company's accessible agricultural and grazing holdings had been liquidated.⁵⁸

The effect of the Southern Pacific's land programs has long been debated. The charge by early critics that the railroad refused to sell land so that it might benefit itself from rising values is belied by the voluminous land sales and prodigious efforts of the land department in the late nineteenth century. Another hypothesis, that the railroad sold land indiscriminately to speculators with little or no attention to planned settlement and thus aggravated land monopoly, is more difficult to evaluate. Available evidence suggests that before the 1880's, the Southern Pacific, like the other land-grant roads, did indeed succumb to the temptation to acquire much-needed capital by selling land as rapidly and in as large parcels as possible. At least one historian, by combing the records of Central Valley counties, has shown that in these years most railroad lands fell into the hands of large operators.⁵⁹ Other evidence, however, suggests that even in the early years of land sales the enunciated preference of railway officials for compact settlement by small farmers also shaped company land policy. In the 1870's and early 1880's, before it possessed elaborate land development institutions of its own, the railroad consigned some of its land to the California Immigrant Union and the Pacific

Coast Land Bureau, both of which specialized in planting agricultural colonies. In addition, some railroad land did go to small farmers. Land Agent Redding reported that in 1877 alone, 500 families, many of them driven north by drought in Southern California, had been settled on Central Pacific land in Colusa and Tehama counties.⁶⁰

Whereas its early colonization methods, like its promotional techniques, were unsystematic, after the mid-1880's the company's commitment to sponsoring compact settlement grew. The Southern Pacific's financial affairs became more stable, and with the company's expansion program slowing to a manageable pace, the pressure to find quick capital, and hence to dispose of the land grant as quickly as possible, subsided. California's economy was reviving from the doldrums of the seventies, largely because of an influx of middle-class land seekers who demanded and could afford developed agricultural lands. The expanded and systematized advertising and sales procedures introduced by Mills in 1883 were matched by more active programs to carve the land grant into smaller parcels and to settle colonies of farmers on them. In 1884, the company revised sales policies to encourage rapid settlement and cultivation of its lands. Henceforth, buyers who signed contracts to occupy and improve lands immediately were offered discounts of 33 to 40 per cent.⁶¹

In addition to relying on the considerable experience of its land agents, the railroad in the 1880's and 1890's sought the assistance of outside experts in planning its colonization programs. In the late 1880's, the Southern Pacific commissioned William Hammond Hall, former state engineer and California's foremost authority on irrigation, to conduct a detailed study of the land grant, particularly the ways in which irrigation might be employed to enhance its value and productivity. Hall's report encouraged railway officials to rethink land policies and to shift their focus from rapid disposal to building irrigation systems and developing lands before selling them.⁶² In 1889, these concerns were embodied into a new corporate department, the Southern Pacific Colonization Agency, which labored especially to establish settlements of small farmers on railroad lands. Led by Bernhard Marks, who had planned the pioneer agricultural colonies of the Fresno area in the middle seventies, the bureau dispatched agents to Europe and states east of the Rocky Mountains and unleashed a barrage of promotional materials, much of which stressed the cooperative colony as the most powerful technique for overcoming the high costs of California agriculture, the requirements for specialized knowledge, and the social disadvantages of rural living. Within a few months, agents were directing farm families from the Middle West onto railroad and other lands. By early January, 1890, Dutch, French, and Spanish groups of up to fifty families each arrived in California bound for railroad land, some of which the company had already improved with houses, roads, and other facilities. In its annual review edition of 1890, the *Alta California* praised the agency as "one of the most important matters relating to the settlement of the State."⁶³

Final determination of the effect of the Southern Pacific's agricultural and land policies on the settlement of California after the 1880's awaits the opening up of more company papers and the completion of studies of regions penetrated by the

railroad. Enough evidence already exists, however, to suggest that, despite inconsistencies, the announced intentions of railway officials to foster compact settlement and agricultural change were more than empty rhetoric. A case in point is the land development program of the Capay Valley Land Company, a firm created by the Big Four and their families in 1887 to purchase and improve a nine-thousand-acre tract of fertile, but isolated, virtually uninhabited wheat and grazing land west of Woodland in the southern Sacramento Valley. Managed by William H. Mills, the company and the Southern Pacific cooperated to extend a branch railroad line into the tract, improve roads and bridges, construct irrigation facilities, and subdivide the tract into small farms, most of them ten to thirty acres in size. In order to call attention to the fruit-growing potential of the region, the company planted orchards and vineyards on its lands, required buyers to raise

*On a depot platform farmer
listened to a lecture on
dairying (right) and re-
viewed scientific exhibits
(below) in the five-to-ten-
car trains on subjects in-
cluding animal husbandry,
fertilizers, pest control,
irrigation, and home and
farm sanitation.*



fruit as a condition of purchase, offered bounties to other farmers in the valley for planting fruit trees, and advertised the horticultural resources of the area in newspapers and magazines across the state and nation. To promote dense settlement, the company founded several agricultural colonies, including the Tancred co-operative colony. In these centers, the railroad and the company built stations, warehouses, commercial buildings, and parks. By 1891, 1,700 acres of the company's land had been planted with nearly 140,000 fruit trees; others in the valley had set out 32,000 more; and several towns had sprouted along the rail line. The largest, Esparto, boasted a school, several churches, fraternal lodges, a farmers' alliance, a gas company, a growing business center, and a total of \$125,000 worth of buildings. Over the next few decades, the Land Company sold several hundred small farms. By the early twentieth century, largely because of the company's organizing power, the Capay Valley had been transformed into a leading deciduous fruit-growing region.⁶⁴

From the 1880's well into the twentieth century the Southern Pacific and its allied companies were aggressively engaged in the Capay Valley in subdividing large tracts of low-value real estate into small farms, introducing new specialty crops, and sponsoring compact settlement. Enough evidence exists to suggest that further local studies will expose similar company activities to promote social and economic development in many areas of California. In addition, other subsidiary land companies were subdividing and improving railroad lands in the northern Sacramento Valley, the Sonoma Valley, southern Alameda County, the Monterey Bay region, the coastal plain near Santa Barbara, and elsewhere.⁶⁵

Like the characters in *The Octopus*, critics of the Southern Pacific have generally emphasized the areas in which the railroad's drive to protect and expand its control over transportation collided with the equally vigorous exertions of economic and sectional interest groups to mold the railway to their desires. Upon closer examination, however, it is clear that despite these frequent clashes with the "public interest," in many areas the needs of the Southern Pacific paralleled those of other groups in the state. As longtime residents of California with career interests in many fields, railroad promoters resembled many other leaders in business, agriculture, journalism, and science in their diagnosis of California's ailments and their prescription for cure. Company officials especially stressed the creation of a new state economic base in an expanded and modernized agriculture. Accordingly, they wrote and lectured about the desirability, indeed the necessity, of managing California's water resources, expanding irrigation facilities, subdividing the state's large ranches and unused tracts into smaller farms, encouraging more compact settlement patterns, and converting from livestock and grains to fruit and specialty crops. Moreover, especially after the 1880's, the financial and organizational resources of the Southern Pacific were channelled into effective programs to achieve these goals. The railway collected and disseminated scientific information, assisted farm groups in organizing and developing their markets, exerted its considerable corporate muscle to wrest more agriculturally-oriented decisions from California's political system, and sponsored social and economic development upon its original grants, as well as lands it purchased specifically for that purpose. Norris' "terror of steel and steam," which left "blood and destruction in its path," was also a major force for agricultural expansion and change.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on page 202 are from the California Historical Society collections. All the others are courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

NOTES

1. Frank Norris, *The Octopus* (New York, 1901), Book One, Chapter I. For an analysis of the railroad as a political issue see W. H. Hutchinson, "Prologue to Reform: The California Anti-Railroad Republicans, 1899-1905," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLIV (September, 1962), 175-218, and David B. Griffiths, "Anti-Monopoly Movements in California, 1873-1898," *Southern California Quarterly*, LII (June, 1970), 93-121. See also, James L. Brown, *The Mussel Slough Tragedy* (n.p., 1958).

2. Almost all standard works covering California history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embody similar interpretations of the Southern Pacific's conflict with public interest. See: Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A History* (2nd ed.; New York, 1969), pp. 337-346, 358ff, 421-422, 430ff, 457ff; Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretative History* (New York, 1973), pp. 220ff, 298-311, and 320-325; Stuart Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York, 1922), passim; Royce D. Delmatier, et al., *The Rumble of California Politics, 1848-1970* (New York, 1970), 125ff, 134, 158. In his study, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951), George E. Mowry significantly entitled his first chapter "The Southern Pacific's California."

3. There are a few general histories which stand out for their greater attempt to deal with the Southern Pacific as an important development force. See especially Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* (New York, 1965), pp. 100ff, 175-176, and 335ff. Several other writers have also succeeded in putting the railroad into a less dominant and more realistic relationship with other forces shaping California society in the late nineteenth century. See especially: Ward M. McAfee, "Local Interests and Railroad Regulation in California During the Granger Decade," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVII (February, 1968), 51-66; W. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVIII (December, 1969), 325-334; Gerald D. Nash, "The California Railroad Commission, 1876-1911," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLIV (December, 1962), 287-305; David Lavender's recent biography of Huntington, *The Great Persuader* (Garden City, New York) and Lloyd J. Mercer, "Land Grants to American Railroads: Social Cost or Social Benefit?" *Business History Review*, XLIII (Summer, 1969), 134-151.

4. Concerning the constant struggle from the late 1860's to the early 1880's by Huntington and other leaders to put their roads on a sound financial footing refer to: Collis P. Huntington-Mark Hopkins Correspondence, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Vols. 1-5, especially letters of August 23, September 28, and October 29, 1872, and February 15, March 3, and March 10, 1873; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 130, 181ff, 293ff, and 376-377; and Julius Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy, 1869-1893: A Study of Businessmen* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 16, 41ff, and 56ff.

5. Bureau of the Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Social Science Research Council, *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Connecticut, n.d.), pp. 12-13; Commonwealth Club of California, *The Population of California* (San Francisco, 1946), p. 21. California's economic problems during the late nineteenth century are outlined in Gerald D. Nash, *State Government and Economic Development: A History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849-1933* (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 1-224; Paul Wallace Gates (ed.), *California Ranchos and Farms* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1967); and Robert Glass Cleland and Osgood Hardy, *March of Industry* (San Francisco, 1929).

6. Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Central Pacific Railroad Company . . . 1881* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 40, and *Annual Report, 1883* (1884), p. 50; Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report of the Southern Pacific Company . . . 1894* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 87 and 122, and *Annual Report, 1896* (1897), pp. 7, 26, 29, and 58; E. A. Kincaid, "The Federal Land Grants of the Central Pacific Railroad" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1922), chapter XV; Walter A. McAllister, "A Study of Railroad Land-Grant Disposal in California with Reference to the Western Pacific, the Central Pacific, and the Southern Pacific Railroad Companies" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1939), pp. 109-110, 457, and 485.

7. Ralph Kauer, "The Workingmen's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (September, 1944), 278-291; Bean, *California*, pp. 219-243; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 320ff and 369ff; Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California, 1889-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952); Griffiths, "Anti-Monopoly Movements in California," 93-121.

8. The historical literature on the land-grant roads is voluminous. The first, and still valuable, works were James B. Hedges, *Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest* (New Haven, 1930); Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934); and Richard Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941). More recent works include William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railroad and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford, 1954), and "A Comparison of Railroad Land Grant Policies," *Agricultural History*, XXV (April, 1951), 83-90. An entire issue of *Agricultural History*, was devoted to "The Role of Railroads in Agricultural Development" (XXI [October, 1957]). See also Wallace Farnham, "Railroads in Western History: The View from the Union Pacific," in Gene M. Gressley (ed.), *The American West: A Reorientation* (Vol. XXXII, University of Wyoming Publications, 1966), pp. 95-109. Another important study is Leslie E. Decker, *Railroads, Lands, and Politics: The Taxation of the Railroad Land Grants, 1865-1897* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1964). Rivalry between the Southern Pacific and other roads is discussed in L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1950), pp. 71-74 and 127-142; and Lewis B. Leslie, "A Southern Transcontinental Railroad into California: The Texas and Pacific Versus the Southern Pacific, 1865-1885," *Pacific Historical Review*, V (March, 1936), 52-60.

9. Biographical information concerning Redding can be found in *Alta California* (San Francisco), August 22, 1882, and Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men* (2 Vols., San Francisco, 1882), II, pp. 77-83.

10. Concerning the career of William H. Mills, refer to *San Francisco: Its Builders, Past and Present* (San Francisco, 1913), I, p. 343, and *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1907.

11. A biography of Jerome Madden was included in Phelps, *Contemporary Biography*, II, pp. 46-50. Hoag obituaries appeared in *The Record-Union* (Sacramento), April 24, 1898, *The Bee* (Sacramento), April 24, 1898, and *The Call* (San Francisco), April 24, 1898. Turrill's activities in the 1880's and 1890's are well documented in the Charles B. Turrill Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Horsburgh's career was reviewed by John P. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915), p. 279.

12. Railroad officials shared development ideas which were virtually indistinguishable from many nineteenth-century California leaders, including those such as Henry George and Caspar T. Hopkins who opposed the Southern Pacific. See Richard J. Orsi, "Selling the Golden State: A Study of Boosterism in Nineteenth-Century California" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1973), Chapter I; Charles A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of Progress and Poverty," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIV (June, 1945), 97-115; Caspar T. Hopkins, *Common Sense Applied to the Immigration Question* (San Francisco, 1869); Claude R. Petty, "John S. Hittell and the Gospel of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIV (February, 1955), 1-16; Gerald D. Nash, "Henry George Reexamined: William S. Chapman's Views on Land Speculation in Nineteenth Century California," *Agricultural History*, XXXIII (July, 1959), 133-137; and Nash, *State Government and Economic Development*, pp. 63-80 and 139-158.

13. Leland Stanford, "Opening Address of the Annual Fair of the State of California Agricultural Society, Sacramento, September 26, 1863," *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Year 1863* (Sacramento, 1864), p. 49.

14. Redding wrote many essays on agricultural topics, published and republished throughout the state's press: "Sanitary Influences of Trees," *Resources of California* (San Francisco), February, 1882; "The Olive in Tulare County," *Pacific Rural Press* (San Francisco), July 10, 1880; "Influence of Irrigation on Citrus Trees," *Pacific Rural Press*, August 16, 1879; "Cost of Wheat Production," *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), January 2, 1880; "Oranges and Olives," *Evening Bulletin*, January 30, 1880; "The Climate of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1878 (1879), pp. 129-134. Hoag, before joining the railroad, was agricultural editor of several leading newspapers, in addition to being secretary of the State Agricultural Society. His writings on behalf of agriculture

include: "Agricultural Review," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1874 (1875), pp. 245-252; "Orange Culture in California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1879 (1880), pp. 132-138; "History of the State Agricultural Society of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1879 (1880), pp. 176-211. His travels and speeches made as immigration commissioner for the railroad were reported in the *Sacramento Record-Union*, May 9 and 19, and June 5, 9, and 23, 1883.

15. W. H. Mills, "Annual Address Delivered Before the State Agricultural Society of California . . . Sacramento, September 18, 1890," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1890 (1891), pp. 184-208. Mills's address was reprinted in the *Sacramento Record-Union*, September 19, 1890, and in other papers around the state. See also W. H. Mills, "Marketing of California Fruits," *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, II (October, 1892), 703-708.

16. Mills, "Annual Address," *passim*, and "Marketing of California Fruits," *passim*. See also W. H. Mills and Edwin K. Alsip, *Report on the Columbus, Ohio, Exhibit* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 8-9. In many of his reports as land agent of the Central Pacific, Mills linked progress for California and the railroad to the development of specialized agriculture: Central Pacific Railroad, *Annual Report*, 1882 (1883), pp. 60-64, and *Annual Report*, 1887 (1888), pp. 72-73. See also Mills's address before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, *An Account of the First Annual Banquet of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles, 1893), pp. 46-47. Mills's newspaper, the *Sacramento Record-Union*, remained an ardent promoter of horticulture and specialized farming from 1875, when Mills gained control, through the rest of the century. This policy was stated in an editorial on February 22, 1875. See also the January 1, 1876 issue, devoted to the theme of agriculture as a basis for further state development.

17. Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 363 and 426.

18. Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report*, 1892 (1893), pp. 26-27, *Annual Report*, 1894 (1895), p. 33, and *Annual Report*, 1896 (1897), p. 28.

19. James Horsburgh, Jr., "Colonization Efforts," in California Development Board, Counties Committee, *Bulletin Number Nine* (January, 1911), p. 17.

20. *Record-Union*, January 1 and 3, and March 4, 22, and 23, 1876, February 22, March 9, July 31, and August 3, 7, and 28, 1878, many issues in October, November, and December, 1881, and January 15, 1883. The crucial role played by Mills in publicizing the problem and helping to organize the valley's farmers is reviewed by Robert L. Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Sacramento Valley, A Chapter in the Decline of the Concept of Laissez Faire* (Glendale, California, 1959), pp. 75-129, 145, 174, and 216. Especially in his editorial of July 31, 1878, Mills charged that, since agriculture had become the dominant interest, the state's laws ought to be changed to protect farmers. Defenders of mining corporations repeatedly attacked the *Record-Union's* stand. See *Alta California*, August 2, 1878, and *Nevada City Transcript*, August 6 and 7, 1878. At one time, a group of Sacramento businessmen, worried about the possibility of retaliatory boycotts by mining regions, dispatched a committee to plead with Mills to cease his criticism of hydraulic mining pollution. The incident is described in Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain*, pp. 123ff. In addition to support for the anti-debris movement which came from the Southern Pacific's newspaper, Kelley suggests that the railroad also maneuvered behind the scenes to bring about legal decisions beneficial to farmers by judges who were "controlled" by the company.

It may be assumed that the editorial policy of the *Record-Union* was shaped directly by the railroad from 1875 to the early 1900's. The Big Four established Mills as editor of the *Sacramento Record* in the early 1870's and co-owned the *Record-Union* with him after 1875, largely through grants from the Pacific Improvement Company, their construction and land development subsidiary. See Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence (March 16, 1872, August 22, 1873, February 25, and March 18, 1875, and April 10 and 26, 1876); Huntington to David P. Colton, April 27, 1876, published as part of the "Cylton Letters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17, 1883. Pacific Improvement Company, "Index to Minutes, 1878-1904," Pacific Improvement Records, Folio 78, Vol. 6, Graduate School of Business, Jackson Library, Stanford University; Sacramento Publishing Company, "Minutes," pp. 48-49, filed in Pacific Improvement Company Records, container 467. After his appointment as land agent for the Southern Pacific in early 1883, Mills moved to San Francisco but retained management and control of the editorial policy of the paper. When he wrote to Governor Pardee in 1902 objecting to the planned state display in St. Louis, Mills enclosed a clipping from the newspaper with the comment that "the editorial expressions

of the 'Record-Union' have my full approval." See Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 29, 1902, Pardee Correspondence, Bancroft Library, and *The Call* (San Francisco), November 22, 1895.

21. The *Record-Union*, on April 1, 1875, published a list of all Granges in the state with their addresses, so that they could better communicate with one another; see also February 22, 1875 issue. Efforts to save the Grangers' Immigration Bureau were reviewed in *Alta California*, April 19, 1875. For later promotion of cooperative farm organizations see *Record-Union*, August 30 and September 5, 1888, which support the California Fruit Union, an early deciduous fruit cooperative, and *Sunset*, IV (April, 1900), 246, and XIV (November, 1904), 90, instances in which this passenger department journal urged farmers to forget their local rivalries and form state or region-wide organizations for more effective control of markets.

22. Mills, "Marketing of California Fruits," pp. 703-708; Mills and Alsip, *Report on Columbus Exhibit*, pp. 8-9.

23. Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapter IV.

24. See *Record-Union*, June 8, 1892, for an account of the new railroad fast freight service for deciduous fruit; Rufus Steele, "What Pre-Cooling Means," *Sunset*, XXIV (March, 1910), 330-343, described a giant pre-cooling plant constructed by the Southern Pacific near Sacramento. Information concerning the Sunkist campaign is contained in Josephine Kingsbury Jacobs, "Sunkist Advertising" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966), and Rayno M. McCurdy, *History of California Fruit Growers' Exchange* (Los Angeles, 1925), pp. 59-61. See also "California Raisins, Their Day," *Sunset*, XXII (May, 1909), p. 550; and *Pacific Rural Press*, March 20, 1909.

25. *Sunset*, II (February, 1899), 74-75, and (April, 1899), 136, VI (March, 1901), 164-168, and (April, 1901), 209-215, VII (June-July, 1901), 81, XV (June, 1905), 190-200, and XXI (July, 1908), 280-281; Southern Pacific Company, *Eat California Fruit* (San Francisco, 1904), republished in 1908, *California Prune Primer* (San Francisco, 1901), *California Big Tree Primer* (San Francisco, 1901), and *California for the Settler Primer* (San Francisco, 1903).

26. John Lorning (Assistant General Superintendent, Central Pacific Railroad) to George Davidson (United States Coast Survey), San Francisco, March 9 and 15, 1872; S. S. Montague (Chief Engineer, Central Pacific Railroad) to George Davidson, San Francisco, August 12, 1872, January 29, 1873, January 23, 1874, December 30, 1878, and January 16, 1879; B. B. Redding to George Davidson, San Francisco, November 13 and 15, 1877, and November 14, 1879, Davidson Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report . . . 1895-1897* (Sacramento, 1898), p. 414; "A Railway Weather Bureau and Its Value to the Public," *Sunset*, I (June, 1898), 35.

27. Redding to George Davidson, November 13 and 15, 1877, Davidson Collection.

28. B. B. Redding, "The Climate of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1877 (1878), pp. 123-140; this essay was often reprinted, for example in *California Patron* (Grange), February 6, 1878, *Pacific Rural Press*, January 26, 1878, and *Resources of California*, January and February, 1887, and December, 1888.

29. University of California, College of Agriculture, *Report . . . 1880* (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 5 and 8-10; B. B. Redding to E. W. Hilgard, San Francisco, March 22, 1880, and February 10, 1881, Hilgard Collection, Bancroft Library.

30. James Horsburgh to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, March 13, 1905; James Wilson to Horsburgh, Washington, D.C., March 27, 1905, copy filed with above letter; Horsburgh to Pardee, San Francisco, March 28, and April 4, 1905, Pardee Correspondence.

31. Telegrams, Horsburgh to Pardee, San Francisco, November 13 and 17, 1905, Pardee Correspondence; E. J. Wickson (Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of California), "An Irrigation Pilgrimage," *Sunset*, XV (October, 1905), 530-537.

32. See the following *Sunset* articles: Charles H. Shinn, "Experimental Agriculture in California: The University of California Stations, United States Department of Agriculture," VIII (November, 1901), 15-19; H. Morse Stephens, "University Extension in California," X (March, 1903), 439-446; Leroy Anderson, "What Modern Farming Means," *ibid.*, 456-458; Edward Hughes, "Farming in the Schools," XVI (April, 1906), 589-591; J. Parker Whitney, "Educational Orange Growing," XVII (August, 1906), 161-170; "Oranges and Iron Fingers: The Time-Honored Custom of Wrapping Fruit by Hand Revolutionized by a Mechanical Invention,"

XXIV (January, 1910), 113-114; and Agnes C. Laut, "Save the Citrus Groves," XXX (April, 1913), 325-334. The magazine included articles promoting agriculture in almost every issue from 1899 to 1915.

33. E. J. Wickson to James Horsburgh, Berkeley, July 16, 1906 and November 12, 1907, Papers of the President of the University of California, University of California Archives, Bancroft Library; H. A. Jones (Freight Traffic Manager, Southern Pacific Company) to Ralph P. Merritt (Secretary to the President, University of California), October 6, 1909, John Campbell Meriam Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library; Thomas H. Hunt to W. M. Merz, Berkeley, January 18, 1916, College of Agriculture, Correspondence and Papers, Box 12, University of California Archives; University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report . . . 1898-1901* (1902), pp. 30 and 181, and *Report . . . 1903-1904* (1904), 85; *The University of California Chronicle*, XV (April, 1913), 307.

34. *The University of California Chronicle*, XI (April, 1909), 186-187, XIV (January, 1912), III, and XV (April, 1913), 292; *Pacific Rural Press*, October 24, 1908, March 27, 1909, and January 14, 1911; Warren T. Clarke, "Sending the College to the Farmer—How the Demonstration Train Delivers Knowledge in Car-Load Lots," *Sunset*, XXX (April, 1913), 383-389; Horsburgh, "Colonization Efforts," pp. 18-20.

35. *Record-Union*, January 3 and March 4, 1876; Mills, "Annual Address," pp. 201ff; William H. Mills, *The Hydrography of the Sacramento Valley* (San Francisco, 1904); *The Call*, June 6 and July 4, 1904; Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, February 3, 1903, Pardee Correspondence.

36. California State Board of Trade, *Reclamation of Arid Lands by Irrigation: Report of the Committee on Arid Lands of the California State Board of Trade* (San Francisco, 1889). *The Call*, April 12, 1899, reported a speech Mills gave to the Board of Trade concerning the benefits, in the form of smaller farms, horticultural development, and agricultural diversity, to be gained from irrigation.

37. As delegates from California, Mills addressed the International Irrigation Congress of 1891, convened in Salt Lake City, with a plea for public finance and control of irrigation water and for strict limitation of the amount of land which could be irrigated with public water. The speech was widely reported in the California press. See *Evening Bulletin*, September 23, 1891, and *Record-Union*, September 24, 1891. See also *Record-Union*, September 18, 19, and 21, 1891; Mills to Pardee, San Francisco, October 5, 1904, Pardee Correspondence; and Paul S. Taylor, "Water Land, and People in the Great Valley," *The American West*, V (March, 1968), 29.

38. *Record-Union*, August 26, 1882, January 1 and 15, 1883. During an address he gave to the Water and Forest Association of California, Mills presented statistics to show that, unless commercial lumbering in California were limited, destruction of watersheds would lead to a shrinkage of available irrigation water and, since the state depended on agriculture, to possible future depressions. Indeed, Mills claimed, California not only had to save the remaining forests but to plant new ones as well (*The Call*, December 15, 1900).

39. Mills to Robert Underwood Johnson, San Francisco, June 30 and August 2, 1889, Johnson Correspondence, Bancroft Library; Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 14 and 15, 1904, Pardee Correspondence; *The Call*, December 14, 1904, and January 20 and 23, 1905. In a January 23, 1905, editorial, *The Call* referred to Mills as one of the originators of the movement to convert all of Yosemite into a national park. See also Theodore A. Goppert, "The Yosemite Valley Commission, The Development of Park Management Policies, 1864-1905" (M.A. Thesis, California State University, Hayward, 1972), pp. 31-63 and 77-82; and Holway Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco, 1965), pp. 35, 41, and 67-68. Jones's book is a good example of limitations placed on historians by the traditional framework for understanding the Southern Pacific. When faced with evidence that Mills had supported the conservationist position in the recession controversy, Jones was at a loss to interpret it. Instead of searching for more evidence concerning Mills's goals, he reverted to the usual explanation of the Southern Pacific's actions, its devious need to manipulate the public. According to Jones, the railroad was working through Mills "behind the scenes," for unspecified reasons, "to seek advantage for itself." Rather, Mills's actions on behalf of Yosemite were more likely a logical outgrowth of a long conservationist career dating back to the 1870's and of the broader program of the Southern Pacific to develop the water, forest, and recreational resources of California. Mills, moreover, did not operate "behind the scenes," which implies the secrecy commonly associated with "the octopus." Widely known to be the land agent of the Southern Pacific and one of its

major spokesmen, especially in press and publicity matters, Mills openly wrote letters to and was interviewed by leading newspapers; as chairman of the Board of Trade's committee for recession, he also contacted every commercial organization in the state.

Oscar Berland, in "Giant Forest's Reservation: The Legend and the Mystery," *Sierra Club Bulletin* (December, 1962), 68-82, maintained that pressure from the Southern Pacific also caused the enlargement of Sequoia National Park when it was created by Congress in 1890.

40. Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 29, 1902, March 2 and 7, June 25 and 29, 1903, and January 6, 1906, Pardee Correspondence; Josephine C. McCrackin, "How the 'Big Basin' Redwoods Were Saved," *Overland Monthly*, XL (October, 1912), 38ff.

41. B. B. Redding, "Influence of Irrigation on Citrus Trees," *Pacific Rural Press*, August 16, 1879; I. N. Hoag, letters to the *Record-Union*, published on May 9 and 19 and June 9, 1883, April 4, 1885, and June 5, 1886; Collis P. Huntington, "Annual Report of the President," in Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report, 1892* (1893), pp. 26-27; Jerome Madden, *California: Its Attractions for the Invalid, Tourist, Capitalist, and Homeseeker* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 22ff. Redding was also a member of the State Fisheries Commission in the 1870's and contributed many scientific writings on zoology, ornithology, forestry, and botany. See Redding to R. W. Waterman, San Francisco, October 22, 1876, and January 3, April 28, November 17, and December 22, 1879 (letters concerning the introduction of many new plants and fish into Southern California), Waterman Family Papers, Bancroft Library. An extensive bibliography of Redding's writings on California natural history appears in California Academy of Sciences, *In Memoriam: Benjamin B. Redding, Born January 17th, 1824, Died August 21st, 1882* (n.p., n.d.).

42. Promoting irrigation and conservation was one of *Sunset's* favorite activities. Among many articles were these: E. T. Perkins (U.S. Reclamation Service engineer), "Redeeming the West: Present Status of Government Irrigation Projects . . .," XVI (November, 1905), 3-25; C. J. Blanchard (U.S. Reclamation Service), "Redeeming the West—the Klamath Project," XVII (September, 1906), 207-214, and "Uncle Sam's New Farm," XIX (September, 1907), 487-492; G. K. Swingle, "Chaining the Sacramento," XVII (October, 1906), 453-455; and "Redeeming the Arid West—Some Results of the Recent National Irrigation Congress at El Paso," XIV (February, 1905), a large section of the magazine containing articles promoting irrigation development in California by Alexander McAdie, of the United States Weather Bureau, E. A. Sterling, of the United States Bureau of Forestry, and Governor George C. Pardee. *Sunset's* policies in favor of irrigation as the basis of development in California were outlined in an editorial which appeared in the January, 1905, issue (p. 308). See also H. T. Payne, "Game Birds of the Pacific," XXII (January, 1909), 65-73; Sumner W. Matteson, "Saving the Buffalo," XXI (October, 1908), 498-503; George H. Maxwell, "Save the Forests and Store the Floods," IX (May, 1902), 42-43; E. A. Sterling, "The Use of Forest Preserves," XIX (May, 1907), 10-17.

43. Robert G. Schonfeld, "The Early Development of California's Imperial Valley," *Southern California Quarterly*, I (September, 1968), 279-307, and (December, 1968), 395-426; A. J. Wells, "Capturing the Colorado," *Sunset*, XVIII (March, 1907), 391-404.

44. Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Lands of the Central Pacific Railroad of California* (Sacramento, 1868), pp. 14-15. Identical wording was used in land pamphlets issued by the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific Railroads throughout the 1870's and 1880's and in the annual reports of the land agents.

45. Collis P. Huntington to Mark Hopkins, New York, February 19, 1874, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence. When some farmers from Kern County applied to Isaac Gates, a railroad official, to purchase some railroad land, Huntington advised: "I consider it important to us to have those lands settled up and I think it would be well for Mr. Gates to sell" (Huntington to Hopkins, New York, October 22, 1873, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence).

46. Huntington to Hopkins, Washington, D.C., April 10, 1876, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence; William H. Mills to James G. Fair (U.S. Senator from Nevada), San Francisco, January 2, 1884, published in *Evening Bulletin*, February 14, 1884; Mills to San Francisco Board of Trade, San Francisco, February 4, 1884, published in *San Francisco Merchant*, February 15, 1884; United States Pacific Railway Commission, *Testimony Taken By the United States Pacific Railway Commission* (8 Vols., Washington, 1887), V, p. 2413.

47. *The Call*, February 16, 1884; *Bee*, January 19, February 1, 13, and 16, 1884; *Marysville Appeal*, January 24 and 31, 1884; *Colusa Sun*, February 9, 1884; *Daily Sentinel* (Red Bluff), February 4 and 5, 1884; *Record-Union*, February 20, 21, 23, 26, and 27, and March 12, 1884.

48. B. B. Redding, "Immigration and How to Promote It," *The Californian*, V (January, 1882), 60; Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapter I.

49. See Mills's first report as land agent, Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report*, 1882 (1883), pp. 60-64, his introduction to California State Board of Trade, *California: Early History, Commercial Position, Climate, Scenery, Forests, General Resources . . .* (San Francisco, 1897-1898), pp. 4-5, his pamphlet, *The American Question* (San Francisco, c.1886), pp. 8ff, and his "Annual Address," to the Agricultural Society in 1890; Horsburgh, "Colonization Efforts," p. 17.

50. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background," 98-99.

51. William H. Mills, *California Land Holdings* (San Francisco, 1892). See also *Record-Union*, April 14, 1892, and *Oakland Times*, April 8, 1892. Mills's other attacks on land monopoly were *The American Question*, passim; W. H. Mills to *The San Francisco Call*, San Francisco, published in *The Call*, January 13, 1896; "California Agricultural Lands," *The Call*, December 19, 1897; and "What Land Grants Did to California," *The Call*, July 9, 1905. Under Mills's management, the *Record-Union* persistently attacked land monopolists for driving people, particularly the young, from the rural districts of the state. See especially the editorials of February 22, 1875, and October 3, 1891.

52. Charles Nordhoff, "California III—Its Products and Productiveness," *Harper's*, XIV (July, 1872), 255-267; Southern Pacific Railroad, *Lands of the Southern Pacific Railroad* (1880), pp. 101-102 and 112ff; Pacific Coast Land Bureau, *California Guide Book: Lands of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad Companies* (San Francisco, c.1882), passim; Bernhard Marks, *Small-Scale Farming in California: The Colonization System of the Great Valley of the San Joaquin in Central California* (San Francisco, c.1890), passim; *Record-Union*, February 27, 1875, July 13 and 14, 1887, and August 23, 1888. *Sunset* also promoted agricultural colonies and small farms. See especially A. J. Wells, "The Romance of the Fresno Ranch: An Old Time Principality Being Broken up for Colonization," XXII (May, 1909), 557-559, and "Slicing the Great Ranchos," XXIII (August, 1909), 219-221; "Carmichael Colony in the Heart of California," XXVI (May, 1911), 576-577, and other articles in this issue.

53. There are several seldomly noticed older studies which touch on some aspects of the Southern Pacific's land development activities with greater or lesser success. Although fragmentary and limited to one region, Edna Monch Parker's "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California," *Pacific Historical Review*, VI (June, 1937), 103-119, provides some insights. Several other authors have amassed most of the statistical data on size, price, and sales of the land grants. None of them, however, presents a systematic analysis of the railroad's development program. See John Froberg, "The Land Grant to the Southern Pacific Railroad" (Typed MS, 1916, deposited at the Bancroft Library), Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific Railroad," McAllister, "Railroad Land-Grant Disposal in California," and Thelma Kesseli, "The Railroad as an Agency of Settlement in California, 1870-1890" (M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1948). Since he examined county land records to identify the purchasers of railroad lands and the size of their purchases, McAllister has performed particularly valuable services. See also, Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapters IV-V.

54. *San Francisco Post*, July 11, 1878; *Alta California*, October 5, 1881; Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy*, pp. 16ff, 41ff, and 56ff; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 130, 181ff, 293ff, and 376-377; McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," pp. 307-355; and Decker, *Railroads, Lands, and Politics*, passim.

55. Details of the Southern Pacific's new promotional plan were released to the California press in May and June of 1883. See *Evening Bulletin*, May 21 and 24, 1883; *Alta California*, May 22, 1883; *Record-Union*, May 9, 17, 19, and 31, and June 9 and 23, 1883, and March 19 and 25, 1884.

56. For a sample of railroad promotional literature, refer to California Immigration Commissioner, Chicago, Illinois, *California: The Cornucopia of the World* (Chicago, 1883 and 1886); Southern Pacific Company, *Southern Pacific Sketch Book* (San Francisco, 1890), and *California for Health, Pleasure and Profit: Why You Should Go There* (San Francisco, 1894). The most significant railroad agricultural displays were at the New Orleans expositions of 1884 through 1886, California's first great propaganda victory which many contemporaries viewed as the spark igniting the "boom of the eighties." See the scrapbooks in the Charles B. Turrill Papers, Bancroft Library, and Charles B. Turrill, *Catalogue of the Product of California Exhibited by the Southern Pacific at the North, Central, and South American Exposition, New Orleans, November 10th, 1885, to April 1st, 1886* (New Orleans, 1886). Southern Pacific subsidies for the Immigration Association of California

(San Francisco) during the 1880's were reported by *Alta California*, October 28, 1881, and *Evening Bulletin*, December 2, 1884, December 1, 1885, and December 7, 1886. From 1887 to 1896, the railroad's grants to the California State Board of Trade (San Francisco) totalled more than \$50,000. See Norton P. Chipman, *Annual Report of General N. P. Chipman, President, California State Board of Trade* (San Francisco, 1896), pp. 7-8. Reviews of later railroad booster programs were published in the special New Year editions of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 1, 1904, and January 1, 1905. See also, Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapters IV-V.

57. *Daily Union* (Sacramento), August 16, 1867; Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1872* (1873), pp. 39-40, *Annual Report, 1881* (1882), pp. 50-51; Southern Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1876 and 1877* (San Francisco, 1877), pp. 49-64, *Annual Report, 1881* (1882), pp. 45-51; and Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific," appendix.

58. Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific," *passim*; McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," *passim*. By the mid-1880's, the Southern Pacific was the leading booster of California. Advertising and printing expenses of the company increased from \$150,000 in 1888 to \$400,000 in 1900 and \$1,800,000 in 1911. See Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Reports, 1888 to 1911*.

The company also pressed for the sale of public land in California to actual settlers. Railway officials supported the California Immigrant Union's efforts to get the federal government to withdraw all public agricultural land in California from sale except to persons willing to farm it immediately (*Alta California*, December 21, 1869). Redding also maintained that the key to economic and social progress was the settlement of the public lands by small farmers (Redding, "Immigration," *passim*). The railroad annually donated several thousand dollars from 1881 to 1887 to the Immigration Association of California, whose primary purpose was to promote settlement of the state's remaining government lands. The company also published an exhaustive pamphlet describing in detail, by township and section, the vacant public and railroad lands in California; see Southern Pacific Company, *A List of Government and Railroad Lands in California Open to Preemption, or Homestead or to Purchase Along the Lines of the Central Pacific, and the California and Oregon Railroads* (n.p., 1886).

59. McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," pp. 253ff and 285ff.

60. California Immigrant Union, *All About California and the Inducements to Settle There* (San Francisco, 1870), p. 14; *Alta California*, April 23, 1875; Pacific Coast Land Bureau, *California Guide Book*; Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1877* (1878), pp. 47-50, and *Annual Report, 1878* (1879), pp. 53-56.

61. *Evening Bulletin*, July 21, 1884; *Record-Union*, July 22, 1884.

62. Charles F. Crocker to William Hammond Hall, San Francisco, January 22, 1891, William Hammond Hall Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

63. Marks, *Small-Scale Farming*; *Alta California*, November 21 and December 19, 1889, and January 1, 1890; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 7, 1890; *Resources of California* (San Francisco), December, 1889. The Colonization Agency lasted only until 1893, when it was disbanded, probably because of the depression which threatened California land projects from 1893 until nearly 1900.

64. Records of the Capay Valley Land Company are filed with the Pacific Improvement Company Records, containers 278-294. See especially Capay Valley Land Company, "Cash Book, 1887-1897," container 293, "Minutes, 1887-1920," container 280, and "By-Laws" (June 1, 1887), container 278. See also *Record-Union*, April 30 and June 14, 1888, November 17, 1889, and September 21, 1891; *Daily Mail* (Woodland), January 15, 1890, and February 28, 1891; *Alta California*, January 1, 1890; Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report, 1891* (1892), p. 27; Western Co-Operative Colonization and Improvement Company, *History and Description of the Tancred Colony* (n.p., n.d.); Rounseville Wildman, *The Capay Valley: A Descriptive Account of the Earliest Fruit Lands in the State* (San Francisco, 1895); Tom Gregory, *History of Yolo County, California* (Los Angeles, 1913), pp. 54ff and 108ff; William O. Russell (ed.), *History of Yolo County, California* (Woodland, California, 1940), pp. 227ff.

65. Most of the land firms were subsidiaries of the Pacific Improvement Company. See: Sonoma Valley Improvement Company, "Journals and Ledgers, 1890-1913," Pacific Improvement Company Records, containers 48-53; see also container 25a, folder 191g; *Record-Union*, September 21, 1891.

Insurgents on the Baja Peninsula: Henry Halleck's Journal of the War in Lower California, 1847-1848

JOHN D. YATES

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PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK'S SIGNING of the declaration of war against Mexico in May, 1846, proved but a culmination to years of talk and secret negotiations regarding the eventual United States' acquisition of Alta California from Mexico. Concern about potential British conquest of the Mexican territory and a pervasive national sense that it was the United States' manifest destiny to control the American continent from ocean to ocean suggested that acquisition by peaceful or aggressive means was merely a matter of time.

While the causes of the Mexican War related largely to Texas, Polk's ambition to add California and other southwestern territories to the national domain continued unabated after his failure to purchase the area and after his efforts at peaceful persuasion through his confidential negotiations with Thomas O. Larkin, sympathetic American consul at Monterey, were preempted by the Bear Flag Revolt. Several months before the outbreak, Polk's Secretary of the Navy Bancroft had secretly instructed Commodore John D. Sloat of the Pacific Squadron that in the event of war with Mexico, he was to occupy such ports in California as he considered necessary for the establishment of American authority in the province.

In the 1840's the most active commercial deep-sea port on the west coast of North America was Mazatlán. In addition to its commercial value, it served as a major revictualing base for the navies of the great maritime nations. All of the countries maintained naval agents there, and the port was homebase for the operations of their Pacific squadrons. Its only rival was Callao, Peru, to the south.

It is no wonder that any strategic move against Mexico by the United States would include some operation against such a large and active port. Both Secretary of the Navy Bancroft and Secretary of War Marcy ranked operations against Mazatlán as top priority in the event of war against Mexico even ahead of the plan to annex Alta California. The Alta California plan won out because the remoteness of this province from the Mexican heartland, the inability of its demoralized and reduced garrison to defend itself, its favor with settlers from the United States, and because of the pro-United States feelings of some of its prominent citizens.

In June, 1846, Commodore Sloat received a dispatch from Secretary Bancroft advising him of the outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States and instructing him to implement the plan to annex Alta California. Another dispatch, dated May 15, arrived two days later in Mazatlán ordering him to "take possession of Mazatlán and of Monterey, one or both," and with the added suggestion that Guaymas be seized as well. Sloat sailed north, and in early July, after some delay, he raised the American flag over Monterey.

In ill health Sloat resigned his command to Commodore Robert F. Stockton, and on August 13 the more inflammatory Stockton entered Los Angeles, proclaiming on the seventeenth that "California is entirely free from Mexican dominion." Meanwhile, Navy secretary Bancroft wrote Stockton on August 15, ordering him to capture Guaymas on the Gulf of California, and he empowered the commander of the Pacific Squadron to make agreements temporarily neutralizing any Mexican province that was willing to revolt against Mexico and to grant American vessels free access to its ports. Baja California was rumored to be contemplating a revolt against Mexico, and this general order was calculated to allow the commander to annex that province at the most propitious time.

On August 19 Stockton proclaimed a blockade against Mexican ports; it was, however, only a "paper" blockade, since he lacked adequate power to enforce it. Stockton then announced plans to capture Acapulco as a base for land operations against Mexico City, and he went as far as directing John Charles Frémont to recruit 700 men for the California battalion for that operation. Stockton, however, had his hands full in consolidating his hold on the territory of California where the tone of his proclamation and the presumptuousness of Frémont incited several military engagements, notably at Chino Rancho and Cahuenga Pass. The meager force of three ships that he sent to the gulf during September and October to enforce the blockade were pulled back in November, 1846, because of the insurgents' resistance in the southern part of his territory. When this spirited action in Alta California concluded in January, 1847, American attention in the Far West was again directed to the Baja peninsula.

Two weeks after the Cahuenga Capitulation ended the Californios' revolt, Lieutenant Henry Wager Halleck, United States Engineers, arrived in Monterey on January 26, 1847, aboard U.S. Storeship *Lexington*. A converted sloop, the vessel carried the officers and men of Company F, Third Artillery, a train of artillery, powder, and ammunition, and a great variety of engineering supplies. Two of the artillery officers, Lieutenant Edward O. C. Ord and Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, were Halleck's friends from West Point days. After a 198-day voyage from New York and a grueling thirty days doubling Cape Horn, the company landed at Monterey in good order, and, according to Sherman's memoirs, "Every man was able to leave the ship and march up the hill to the forts with his own knapsack and equipment." The artillerymen relieved Lieutenant Maddox and his Marine garrison and went into "canvas" on the hill near Fort Mervine. Halleck went about his engineering duties with customary thoroughness, and he designed a new redoubt to secure the approaches to Monterey by sea and land, inspected San Francisco Bay and its entrance, and made recommendations for coastal defense. Ord and Sherman and other artillery officers took up the monotonous routine of regimental duties.

Hence, rather inauspiciously, began Halleck's remarkable public career, one that saw him in the next seven years—while still a regular army officer—serve as secretary of state of the Territory of California, joint author of the California constitution, partner in the law firm of Halleck, Peachy & Billings, and director-administrator of New Almaden, the largest quicksilver mine in the western hemisphere. In 1853 he resigned from the army with the substantive rank of captain to take care of his burgeoning law practice. He rejoined in 1861 as one of the four permanent major-generals of the Regular Union army, having served for one year as major-general of the Second Division of the California Militia. (Another of the four major-generals was John Charles Frémont whom Halleck would succeed as general commander of the Department of the Missouri.) Promoted to general-in-chief of the armies of the United States in 1862 as a result of his strong administrative skills and strategic brilliance in attacks on the River Forts, Halleck found Washington, D.C. a "political hell," but as chief-of-staff he survived the maneuverings of political generals and draft riots, and he eventually produced for Grant and Sherman a superb professional army out of a rabble of ill-disciplined draftees.

Halleck's memoir of the Baja campaign, his first important military experience, was discovered at the time of Halleck's death in 1872 by Colonel George W. Grannis, the administrator of Halleck's estate and agent for the general's heirs (Halleck married the granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton) in the basement of the Montgomery Block—the famous but recently demolished San Francisco landmark building which was designed, promoted, and owned by Halleck. His law firm, Halleck, Peachy & Billings, occupied a large suite of offices on the third floor of the building from 1853 to 1864.

Today, the manuscript memoir which has never before been published and rarely used is in Halleck's law firm's papers at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. It is inscribed in pencil and ink on the blue, lined paper of the period; some portions are indecipherable due to stains, poor writing surfaces, and a penmanship compromised by haste. Regrettably, Halleck never finished the record of his Baja experiences, but he left notes to himself in parentheses for future reference. Ironically, though the scholarly or "bookish" Halleck published a number of respected and esoteric works on international law, mining, military strategy, and a translation of Henri Jomini's massive *Life of Napoleon*, he never concluded his personal memoir.

Following is an introduction and an edited version of Halleck's Baja California journal and an accompanying narrative which fills in gaps left by Halleck himself and the abridgment of the journal necessary for publication in the *Quarterly*. Halleck sets the stage in each sequence and discusses, in addition to military maneuvers, local conditions and personalities. He combines a military journal with a travelogue and chronicle of his personal experiences and provides a detailed first-hand account of the nature of a military man's experiences, in a war against native insurgents and guerrillas. Light-hearted touches, an eye for women, and a lively sense of humor belie the public sense of a somber, unfriendly, and reserved man of little social grace.

Shortly after Lieutenant Halleck's arrival in California in January, 1847, Commodore Stockton again tried to enforce the blockade against Mexican

ports by sending Commander John B. Montgomery on the U.S.S. *Portsmouth* to the gulf to raise the flag at San Lucas at the southern tip of the peninsula and at La Paz on the east coast, but San José, north of San Lucas, refused to surrender. At La Paz, Articles of Capitulation were drawn up (similar to those of the Treaty of Cahuenga) granting Baja Californians the same rights as United States citizens and allowing officials to stay in office. Baja's governor, Colonel Miranda, a collaborationist, signed the document on April 13, 1847. Again, however, these efforts proved abortive, for Montgomery was unable to leave a garrison of men, and upon his departure American presence evaporated in the gulf.

Meanwhile, Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny had replaced Stockton and, in turn, been replaced as military commander and governor of the Territory of California by Colonel Richard B. Mason of the First Dragoons who assumed the command of the Tenth Military Department and the governorship on May 30, 1847. Just before he handed over his command to Mason, however, Kearny had received a dispatch from Secretary of War Marcy, dated January 11, 1847, with orders to occupy a port and hoist the flag in Baja California, and "actual possession taken and continuously held, or some place or places within it, and our civil administration there asserted and upheld." It was left to Mason to implement these directions, which he did by ordering Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Henry S. Burton (a lieutenant of the Third Artillery and a classmate of Halleck at West Point) of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers and two companies of the regiment stationed at Santa Barbara to embark on the U.S.S. *Lexington* for La Paz on the eastern shore of the peninsula.

Accordingly, Burton and his men arrived in the Bay of La Paz on July 21, 1847, and occupied the town which was to remain the base of all operations in the peninsula. Across the Gulf of California, successive commanders of the Pacific Squadron had tried unsuccessfully to enforce a permanent blockade of Mexican ports with one frigate and one sloop, more or less. Commodore William Bradford Shubrick, who had taken over the command of the squadron in January, 1847, on behalf of his senior, James Biddle, and to permanent command in July, was determined to support a blockade in force; in September, 1847, he assembled an expedition in Monterey to sail to the gulf and do the job properly. Under his personal command, the squadron would occupy the ports of Mazatlán, Guaymas, and others if necessary, and cooperate with the army across the gulf on the Baja peninsula.

As for Halleck, Governor Mason had appointed him secretary of state of the Territory of California on August 13, 1847. He had hardly settled down to his new bureaucratic and administrative responsibilities, however, when Shubrick asked him to join his expedition as chief-of-staff. Halleck jumped at the chance—only in the "field of glory" could one hope for a quick step up the promotional ladder—and Mason reluctantly released him.

In August the first class sloop *Portsmouth* (under Commander John B. Montgomery), the frigate *Congress* (under Captain Elie A. LaVallette), and the third class sloop *Dale* (under Commander Thomas Selfridge) proceeded to the Gulf of California as a vanguard to soften up the area and destroy commerce. On October 16, Shubrick on his flagship, the razee *Independence*, with the second class sloop *Cyane* (under Captain William Mervine) and the storeship *Erie* left Mon-

terey to rendezvous with the ships of the vanguard off the tip of the peninsula at Cape San Lucas; after a brief call at San José to make contact with Burton, they planned to cross the gulf and descend upon Mazatlán. On board Shubrick's flagship was Lieutenant Henry Halleck, and here his journal commences:

On the morning of the 25th [October] we made land a little north of Cape San Lucas, and soon afterwards fell in with several whalers. Calms and a strong westerly current around the Cape delayed us for several days. . . . The morning of the 29th we fell in with the Congress and received news of the bombardment of Guaymas, and the advance of General Scott's army upon the City of Mexico.

The frigate *Congress* had arrived off Guaymas on October 17. Captain LaVallette had tried to talk the governor into surrendering, but he failed. Accordingly, the town was bombarded and reduced, and then occupied by the sailors and marines of the frigate. Soon, the sailors of the *Portsmouth* relieved them to allow LaVallette on the *Congress* to make his rendezvous with Shubrick off Cape San Lucas.

The sloop Cyane anchored the evening of the 29th in the Bay of San José about three miles from the shore in 28 fathoms of water. The Independence and Congress came in next morning. The anchorage in this bay . . . is entirely open to the south-east and exceedingly dangerous between the months of June and November. On the 30th . . . we despatched a courier to La Paz with official papers for the Captain of the Dale . . . and the commanding officer [Burton] of that place.

Commander Selfridge of the *Dale* had anchored in the Bay of La Paz after an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the fishing village of Mulege some 250 miles to the north. (On board his ship was the famous amateur artist, Navy Gunner William H. Meyers, who painted and sketched naval scenes of the Pacific during his service.)

We were obliged to foot it [up to the town] for a distance of about five miles over a very sandy and heavy road. Our way, however, was enlivened by the songs of birds, and the woods by the roadside were filled with the most rare and beautiful flowers. . . . When we had arrived within a few hundred yards of the town . . . some boys from the adjacent ranchos rushed out with horses. . . . We despatched them to the beach to bring up our companions. It is usual to land at the northern beach with a mile and a half to the town; but we had landed at the Palm Beach for the convenience of watering the ship. . . .

San José del Cabo is situated in a broad and fertile valley . . . on the right bank of the San José River and a mile and half from its mouth. On the west side is a ridge of high mountains, one of whose conical peaks forms an excellent landmark for the anchorage. The town is composed of some strong adobe houses pretty well built.

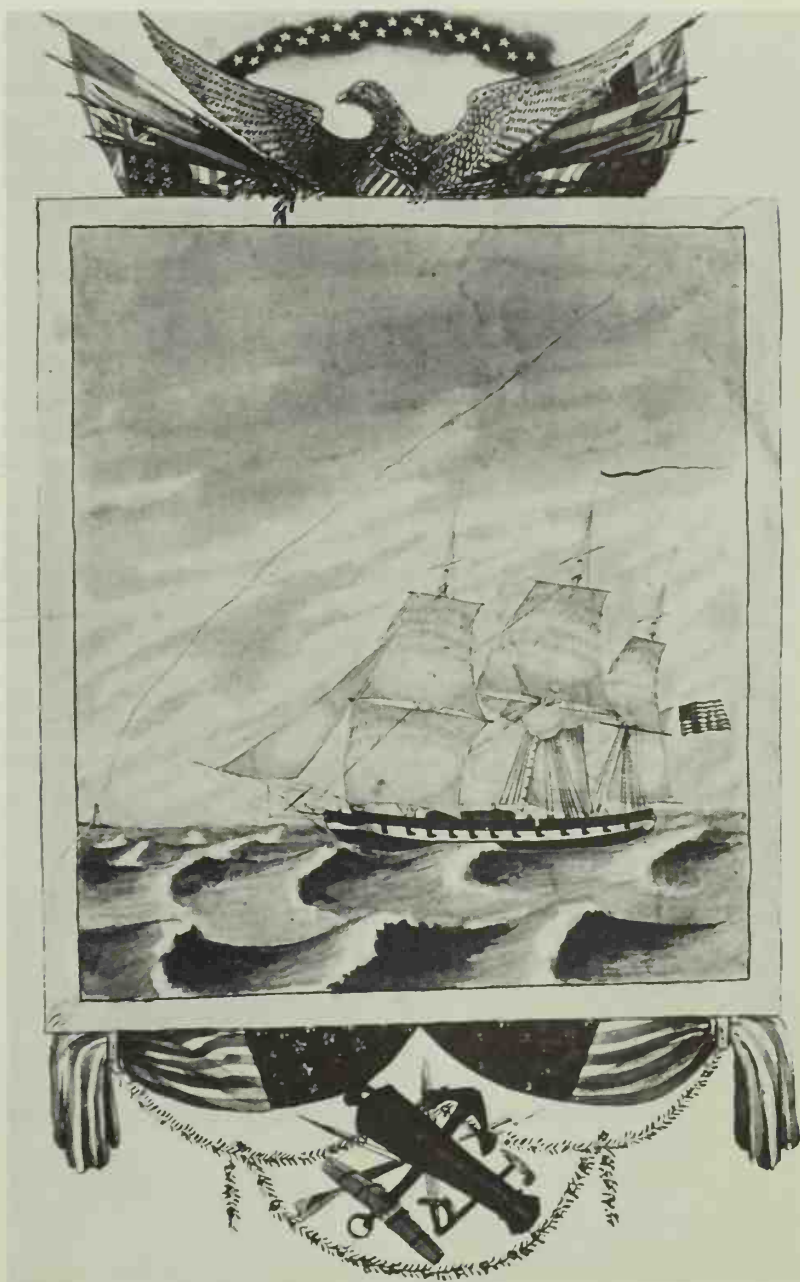
From information received at San José we learned that the country was in a very unsettled state; the most respectable inhabitants were endeavoring to maintain order and quiet; but a few worthless adventurers were inciting classes to insurrection. To understand this state of affairs it will be necessary to go back and take a brief survey of the previous operations of our forces on this coast.

Owing to the absence of our squadron from the gulf, the Mexicans had landed about four hundred men and several pieces of artillery and a large supply of ammunition. Powder had

also been supplied to the enemy, it is said, by the brig Thomas H. Benton from New York. A small body of soldiers, mostly refugees from justice, were landed at Mulije [Mulege] and placed under the command of Manuel Pineda, Captain of Cavalry, who proclaimed himself Gefe Politico y Commandante Militar de Baja California. His only authority for this was a passport from Colonel Rafael Telles, commanding officer at Mazatlán who was himself in open rebellion against the Central Government of Mexico.

According to Halleck, Pineda and his soldiers had little support at first from the local population who wished to remain neutral until a treaty of peace had been signed "to settle their future destiny." Pineda declared them all traitors and threatened reprisals unless they supported him, "thus many rancheros of Mulije [Mu-

Amateur artist Wm. Meyers, a naval gunner, painted the second-class sloop Cyane which, along with the Portsmouth, Congress, Independence and Dale, made up the Pacific Squadron contingent assigned to blockade and subdue Lower California.



lege] were induced to join the revolution." Pineda and his associates were a villainous bunch, asserted Halleck.

As Pineda had fled from Mazatlán to avoid his creditors and the consequences of a dissipated and lawless life, and had assumed command in California without any legal authority of his government, his character condition seemed to fit him for the command of this band of lawless vagabonds. . . . He was utterly destitute of personal courage . . . and he arranged rather than executed plans of robbery and murder. The executions were left to several leaders of the guerrilla parties.

Pineda's principal coadjutors were two clerics, Padre Vicente of Comondu, fifty miles to the south of Mulege, and Padre Gabriel Gonzales of Todos Santos, on the western coast. The former, who urged his men to kill Yankees to assure glorious rewards in heaven, was thought to be a "crazy fool even by his own flock." He placed himself at the head of his guerrilla band in "robes and cross held high" but armed to the teeth, although at the first sound of gun fire he was the first to run. When his situation became dangerous, he took off in a whale boat across the gulf "with all the plundered church silver, and his prize gaming cocks." Turned back by the launch of the *Dale*, he was last seen, Halleck observed, minus his swag, running to the hills "for he was an expert runner of foot races." Padre Gabriel, Halleck reported, was a very different man:

He was cool, cunning and intelligent, and destitute alike of principle and honor. . . . He was living at this time at La Paz for the purposes of medical advice for the numerous diseases contracted in some of his scenes of debauchery. . . . He manifested the most friendly feelings towards the officers of the American garrison although in constant correspondence with Pineda. . . . He was engaged in procuring arms for the insurgents, but solemnly denied that Pineda was in the country for hostile purposes, and ridiculed the idea of any intended insurrection.

After the skirmish with the landing party of the *Dale* at Mulege, Pineda had moved south and with his "tatterdemalion" party set up his base of operations at San Antonio, some 15 miles south of La Paz; Padre Gabriel and his partisans moved to Todos Santos on the west coast of the peninsula. Halleck continued:

Such was the actual state of affairs in Lower California on our arrival at the Cape, but it was not easy to form a satisfactory opinion from the meager and contradictory reports which we received at San José. . . . Under the circumstances I proposed to Commodore Shubrick the propriety of sending a small body of men to Todos Santos to make a reconnaissance and ascertain the exact state of the country. Accordingly a party of officers and men were selected for this purpose and placed under the command of Lieut. Montgomery Lewis, U.S.N.

The party included Halleck, Navy Lieutenant George Selden, Navy Surgeon Maxwell, Lieutenant William Russell, and twenty-five sailors and marines.

November 1st, 1847. . . . Landed from the ship and found our guides, horses and pack mules waiting for us on the beach. Having completed our preparations we left the town about 5 o'clock [P.M.], took the road to Todos Santos. But no sooner were we under way than the country people begged us not to venture into the interior with so small a party, for Pineda, they said, had already organised several hundred men and would assuredly

attack us. The next day this rumored force increased to 700 men said to be lying in wait for us near the padre's rancho at San Jacinto.

Disregarding the rumors of Pineda's intentions, the party pressed on. They stayed the night at the Rancho Ascunción at the foot of a mountain some fifteen miles from San José, tying their horses to a line of trees, arranging their saddles and packs into "circular breastworks," and spending "a restless night."

November 2nd. Rose at daybreak. . . . Some of our animals had broken their picket lines and had wandered off, so we did not get in motion until 7 o'clock. The old ranchero brought us fresh milk and cheese and manifested every desire to treat us with the utmost hospitality. He was exceedingly poor and lived entirely upon the produce of his cattle; and not an inch of ground for miles around us was susceptible of cultivation. He had nevertheless raised up a large family of children, most of whom had married and were now living away from home. One daughter about 14 or 15 years of age still remained whose pretty face and magnificent figure would have made her a queen in any country village.

The country beyond the Ascunción Rancho, Halleck observed, was very barren and covered with great granite rocks as "though they had been split into fragments by thunderbolts." About nine o'clock Halleck's party passed the Rancho San Felipe and found some good pasturage near a fine brook of purest water where they breakfasted. Soon they were in the "middle of the mountain range that extends from Cape San Lucas to the northern extremity of Oregon, and on each side of us were lofty peaks, some four or five thousand feet." They crossed high table lands which lay half way between the gulf and the Pacific, and bivouaced for the night at the side of a small stream at a place the guides called Rincon. As there was "considerable danger of attack," they kept the strictest watch through the night.

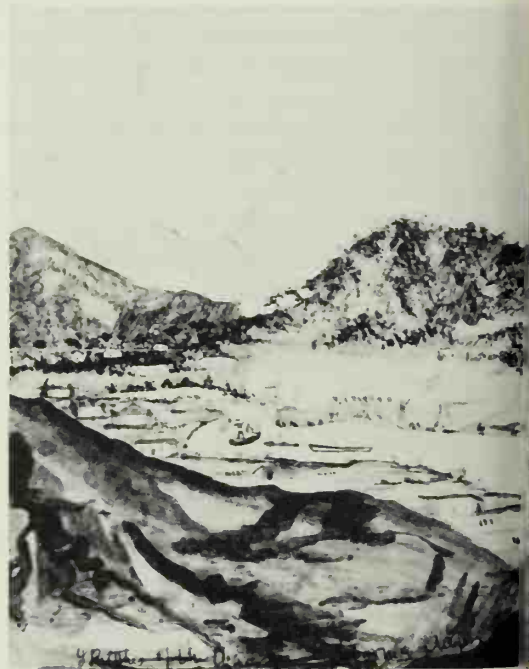
November 3rd. We started this morning at 4 o'clock and rode by moonlight. Our road lay across small streams and broken spurs of the mountains, and it was with difficulty that we could get our horses over the rocks and steep ravines that obstructed our way. . . . We had travelled by a mere mountain path, winding amongst the rocks and trees and generally through gorges so narrow that two animals could not pass at a time. At 9 o'clock we reached the rancho of San Jacinto belonging to Padre González, a fine sugar plantation on the San Jacinto River. On our approach most of the men up in the plantations fled to the woods and the women received us with great coldness, replying, "No comprendo," to all our interrogations. . . . At 11 o'clock we resumed our march, determined to push on as near as possible to Todos Santos before dark and ascertain the real state of affairs in that vicinity. At 5 o'clock we arrived at Pescadero, a collection of four or five ranchos, one of which was situated on top of a small hill and afforded an excellent look-out and defense. We resolved to stop there for the night and push on to Todos Santos in the morning. . . . We turned our horses to graze till dark, and while beef and vegetables were procured and cooked outside for the men, we contrived to have a supper prepared indoors for the officers. As the old ranchero was too miserably poor to furnish us anything but beef and milk, we obtained some chickens from a neighboring farm and turned them over to his daughters to prepare. How many children the old man had I do not remember, but I do know that he had at home five girls from 14 to 19 years of age, and as pretty as could be looked for on a California rancho. To good Spanish features, without any mixture of

Indian blood, were added forns that queens might envy. Wearing dresses without sleeves, and low in the bosom like our belles at home when they wish to display their charms in the ballroom, and being too poor to afford [?] with which Mexican ladies usually conceal their budding features, these belles of Pescadero, in their simple calico robes without the aid of cotton brocade and whale bones, presented us lovely figures as the age could ever wish to gaze upon; and with hearty appetites and chicken well cooked, we waited in anticipation of a pleasant entertainment.

At length the chickens made their appearance in an immense earthen dish . . . with a savory smell not to be ignored. A difficulty now arose in serving them up in proper style, for we had only brought with us our clasp-knives and metallic drinking cups. The latter answered well enough for our coffee in the field, and the knives served us perfectly in cutting up our beef after it had been roasted on a stick by a camp fire. But now that we had ladies to entertain the case was different; for one long dish and a knife or two constitute the usual table furniture of a Californian ranchero, and an earthen pot and iron skillet, the entire poterie de cuisine. . . . Some old cracked plates were found under a bed, however, and placed on a wooden trunk which served as a table, and blocks of wood arranged around it for seats. Each of us shared a block of wood with a fair companion, and it was necessary for the gentleman and lady to sit in close proximity . . . and one arm tightly about her waist lest she slip off the seat while the other hand did the double duty of feeding the entertained and the entertainer. As there was only one cup for every couple, the fair lady was obliged to drink from the same as her cavalier. We were deficient in knives and forks but then fingers were invented before either—and we used these to advantage and held up the chicken to the rosy lips of our sweethearts while they delicately nibbled off the fleshy meat. . . . If our friends at home could have looked in upon us, they must have admired the grace in which we plied these California beauties with hard bread, coffee and chicken stems.

[After the meal] preparations were made for a dance which was continued with much glee till a late hour. There were, however, some drawbacks to the gaiety of the evening—

The advance guard of the squadron proceeded to Lower California in August, 1847, to weaken the area before the main force's arrival, and on October 2, the Dale's landing force under Lieutenant Craven attempted to subdue the Mexicans, commanded by Pineda, at Mulege. Meyers dutifully recorded the skirmish in water colors.

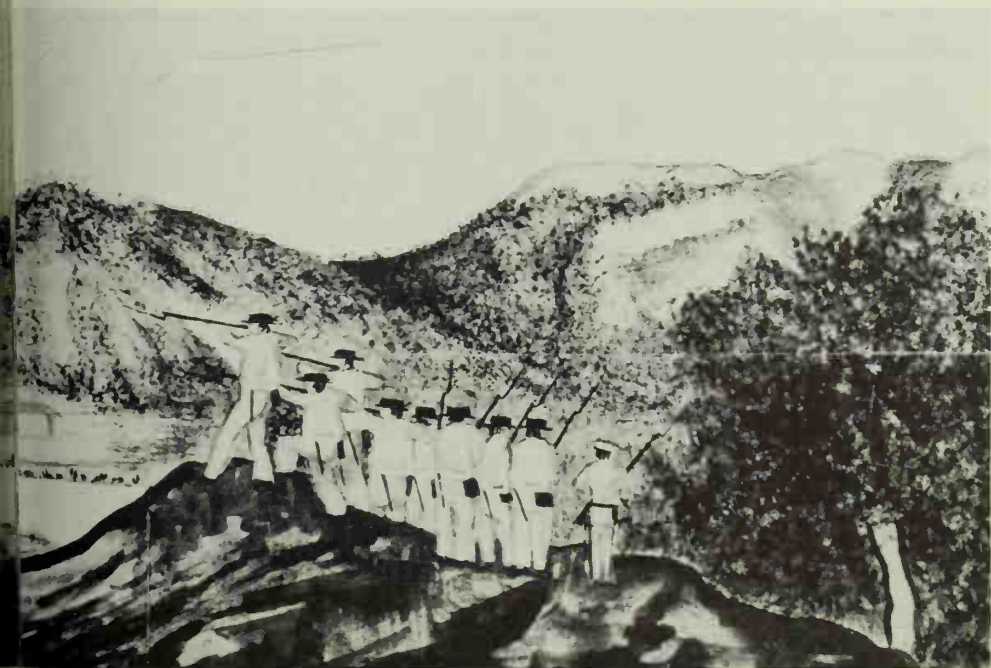


the old three-string guitar was out of tune, and the ground inside was very uneven; moreover it was slightly fatiguing to dance with revolvers in each pocket, horse pistols in the belt, and a heavy saber buckled to the side. Our carbines were close at hand, and in addition to four sentinels on the outside of the house, one officer always kept near the door to give an instant alarm in case of an attack. At 11 o'clock we bade goodnight to our fair friends and slept soundly on the ground outside, notwithstanding the close proximity of our sleeping beauties, and the strong probability of a fight before morning. . . ."

But daylight came without an attack, and at an early hour we were on the road to the Mission at Todos Santos. . . . On our approach we were informed that the insurgents had left the place. We reached the town about 8 o'clock and immediately took up quarters in the Mission. Alarmed at our approach Padre Gabriel had fled, but finding that we were not disposed to injure anyone, and fearing that his absence might compromise his pecuniary interests, he came back and pretended to be greatly pleased at seeing us in his house.

But Halleck and his party did not trust the padre who was "casting a sinister eye upon our horses and equipment," so they put a sentry on his door. They calculated, however, that the mission was admirably suited for defense and that their party of thirty could hold out against 300 Mexicans until reinforcements reached them from San José.

Describing Todos Santos, Halleck observed "a town of straggling houses," the church and the mission buildings in good repair, and "the missionary character of the establishment having ceased with the disappearance of the Indians." Reporting on the political conditions at Todos Santos, Halleck recorded a conversation with the smooth talking Padre Gabriel who assured them that he greatly regretted the disturbances that had taken place and that he blamed them upon certain evilly disposed persons from Mulege "who had endeavored to incite people to arms." The padre continued that some of the Baja Californians were in favor of remaining a Mexican colony, while others preferred annexation to the United States, "but to get up a revolution could only lead to disaster and ruin."



Halleck thought the padre's remarks very sensible, but "certain circumstances in his conduct led us to believe that, while plying us with soft words, he was actually planning some scheme to destroy us." Hence, a strong guard was posted, and the officers took turns to watch every movement of the padre. In spite of these precautions, however, the padre attempted to induce "the inhabitants to make the Americans prisoners." Failing in this, he dispatched a courier to Pineda advising him to ambush the Americans on their way to San José. Accordingly,

On November 5th we called in the second alcalde—the first had left the place on our approach under the pretense of private business in the interior of the country—and read to him a letter from Commodore Shubrick, and represented to him the ruinous consequences that must result to the contrary if the people should be so foolish as to join Pineda in his insurrectionary measures. The Padre acted as spokesman in reply and assured us on his own part, and for the authorities of the town, that no disturbances should take place and that they would continue to reorganize the existing government of the country till the question of allegiance should be finally settled by a treaty of peace with Mexico. It is worthy of remark that while the reverend Padre was guilty of falsehood in nearly every word he spoke, and in less than half an hour gave the lie to his protestations, the second alcalde and rancheros of Todos Santos were true to their word, and notwithstanding the threats of the priest and his partisans, continued as friends of the Americans in all the subsequent difficulties in the peninsula.

Having accomplished the principal object of our visit, our orders not permitting us to be any longer absent from the squadron, we left the Mission in the afternoon [November 5] intending to bivouac again at Pescadero. But as we were about to start, a circumstance occurred to exhibit the Padre's character in its true light. Contrary to our express orders he had sold rum to our Marines, and about half a dozen of them were so intoxicated as to be scarcely able to sit upon their horses; and one of the Padre's illegitimate sons [later, a captain under Pineda] had succeeded in stealing a number of the flints from their guns. He at first positively denied it, but the flints were found in his pocket. We felt disposed to administer a suitable punishment for his conduct but deemed it preferable in the existing state of the country to let him off with a severe reprimand. The Padre stood by and seemed to regard with approbation the theft and falsehood of his illegitimate offspring.

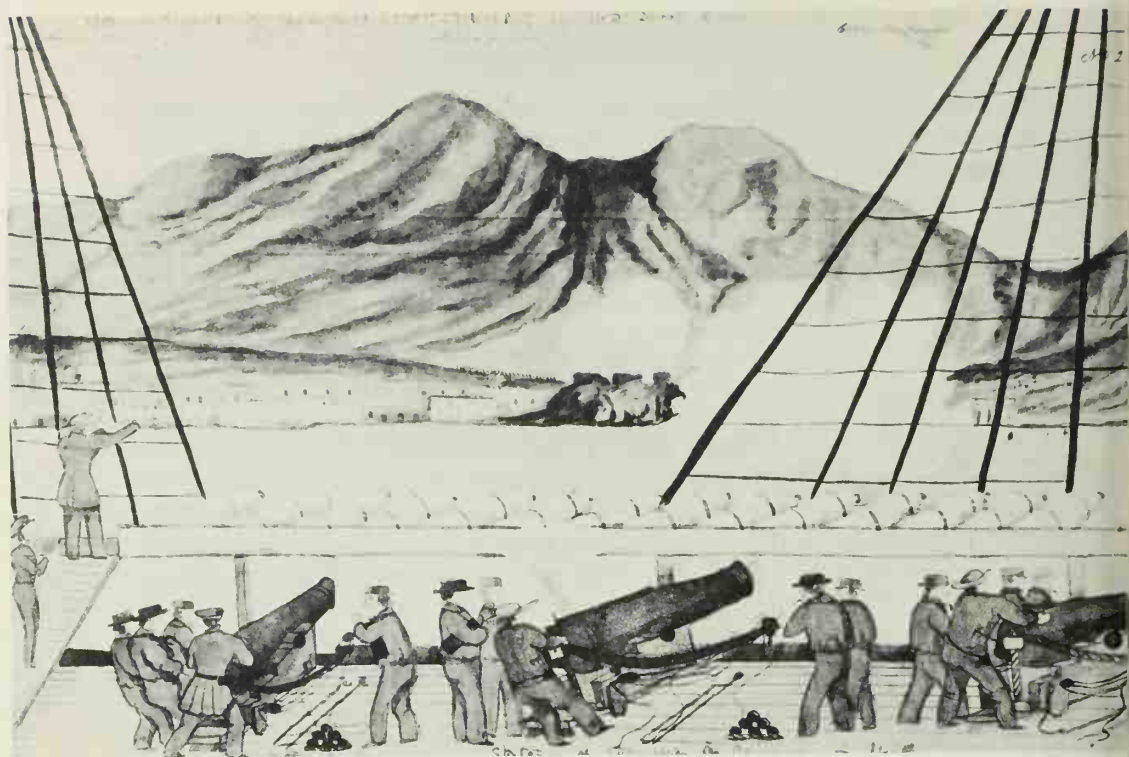
Halleck and his party reached Pescadero before dark on November 5 and planned to spend another riotous evening with the fair señoritas. However, a messenger arrived from their friends in Todos Santos who told them that a party of Pineda's insurrectionists had appeared soon after they left and were now planning an attack on the Americans at Pescadero. Halleck reported that they then "gave their whole attention to preparations for defense," and although during the night they saw several of the enemy in the distant bushes, the day dawned without an attack. The night of November 6 they bivouaced on the mesa, and friendly rancheros gave them milk and fresh beef. Taking a moment for his journal, Halleck reflected, "The beef of Lower California in the season when the cattle are fat is superior, I think, to any other I have tasted. . . ."

November 7th. We were early in the saddle, and stopping a short time on the road to graze our horses and cook our breakfast, we reached San José about sundown and immediately went on board the Independence to report the result of our reconnaissance. The Commo-

dore then heard from the alcalde of San José that it would be impossible for him to maintain the quiet of the town during the absence of the Squadron unless some force was left to give countenance and support to his authority. The people, he said, were friendly, but being denounced as traitors by the guerrillas, they were afraid to act according to their own wishes. A small garrison was deemed sufficient for the present object, it being intended that one of the vessels of war should return after the capture of Mazatlán. Accordingly on the morning of November 8th, Lieut. Heywood with four officers and 25 marines and sailors were ordered ashore to garrison the old cuartel at the upper end of the town. Fortunately there was very little surf this morning at the landing near the mouth of the river, so that everything was got ashore without difficulty. At one o'clock the Squadron sailed for Mazatlán leaving Lieut. Heywood, USN, and his little band to try their hand for a time with the guerrillas of the Peninsula.

Although Halleck left some notes on the Mazatlán expedition, they were short and sketchy and served only to remind him that he had to finish that portion (which we presume he never did). From other sources, primarily reports to Congress, however, we know that Commodore Shubrick had hoped to pick up some of Burton's New York Volunteers from La Paz to assist him in the expedition to Mazatlán. Before he left Monterey Shubrick was handed a dispatch from Lieutenant W. T. Sherman (promoted to Mason's acting assistant adjutant general) for Burton which directed the Volunteers to support the naval forces. The dispatch read, in part, "It is ordered that, if compatible with the safety of that portion of California, you leave at La Paz or San José such officers and men of your present command as will ensure the safety of our flag there, and with the balance embark and cooperate with the naval forces in any attack that they may make against Mazatlán" (House of Representatives, *Executive Document* #17, 31 Congress, 1 session). However, the Todos Santos reconnaissance party under Lieutenant Lewis (described by Halleck) had just discovered that there was considerable threat from the guerrillas all across the peninsula. Aware of this ominous situation, Burton also knew of Pineda's move to San Antonio and the threat to La Paz. Believing himself to be in no position to help Shubrick in his attack on Mazatlán, Burton in fact considered his hold on the peninsula so precarious that he instead prevailed upon Shubrick to leave a garrison of sailors and marines at San José under Lieutenant Heywood. As a result Shubrick, with the three ships of the squadron—the frigates *Independence* and *Congress* and the sloop *Cyane*—set out to attack Mazatlán with a much smaller landing party than he had anticipated.

The three ships arrived off Mazatlán on the afternoon of November 9, having sailed from the roadstead of San José at 1 P.M. on the eighth and covering the 200 miles of the gulf in twenty-four hours. Early next morning Shubrick placed his ships in position: the *Independence* (well fitted-out with eight 8-inch shell guns and forty-eight 32-pound carronades) anchored with her broadside to the town; the *Congress* (with approximately the same armament as the other frigate) commanded the old harbor and the road leading northward; and the *Cyane* (with twenty 32-pounders) commanded the landing near the new harbor. A party to carry the summons to surrender under a flag of truce assembled on the *Independence*: Captain Elic A. F. LaVallette, Henry Halleck, Flag Lieutenant Henry Lewis, and Henry LaReintric who was Shubrick's secretary and translator (he



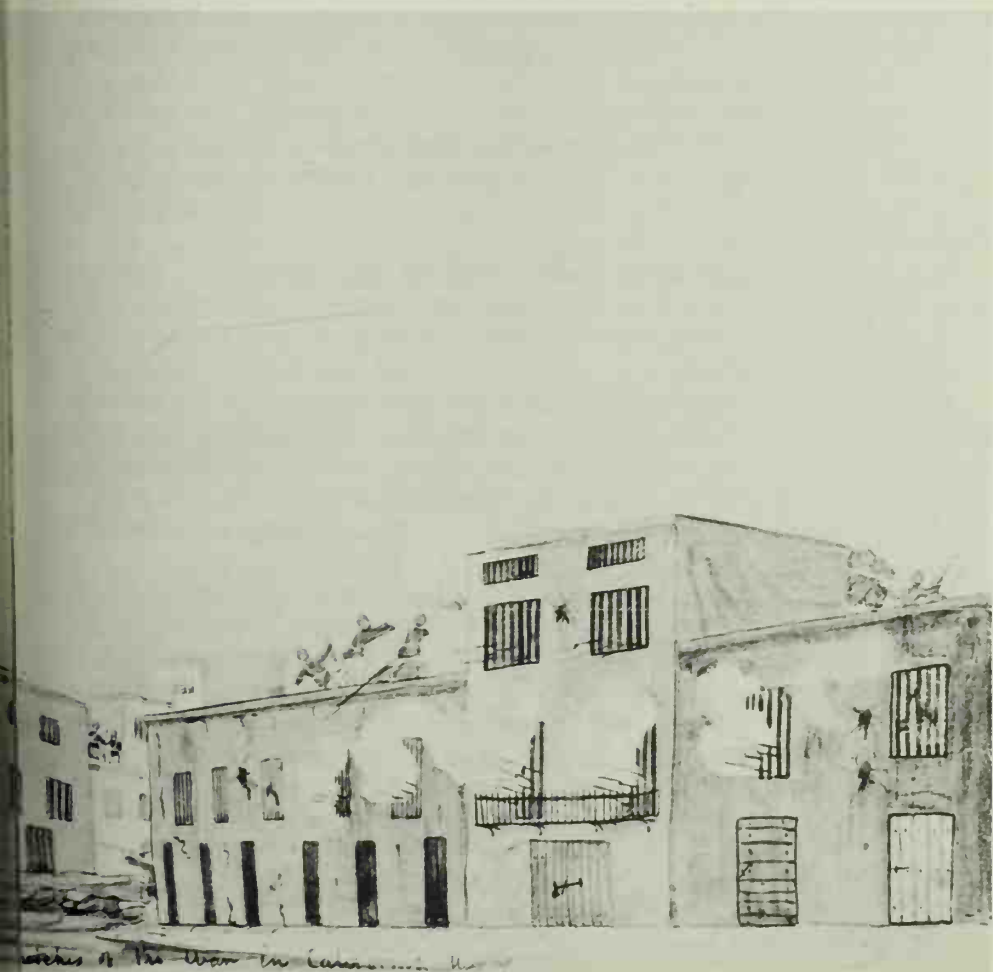
Following their orders to occupy ports, blockade trade, and cooperate with the army across the gulf on the peninsula, the Dale's 32-pounders—with artist Meyers firing (above)—bombarded Guaymas, while seamen attempted to take possession of the fort and drive Mexican troops from the surrounding houses (right).



had held the same position under Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones at the time of the embarrassing descent on Monterey in 1842).

It came as no surprise to the truce party that the military commandant and governor of Mazatlán, Colonel Rafael Telles, was out of town. At previous landings of United States forces in Alta California the Mexican official in authority had regularly absented to a safe place from where he could issue bombastic proclamations in defiance of the invader. Two army officers and two civilian members of the junta met the American party, however, and they led them to the house of the president of the junta, José Vasavilloro, who informed the Americans that his junta had no vote "in the deliberations of the military" and that he was not aware of "their resolution" (National Archives, Microfilm records of Tenth Military Department, Rg 393, Roll 6). The summons to surrender was then sent by courier to Colonel Telles who was in camp with his troops at Palos Orietos, about twelve miles from Mazatlán. Exhibiting a flare for the dramatic, Telles paraded his troops, read the American summons aloud, tore the paper up, and jumped on the pieces.

Shubrick, meanwhile, had decided not to wait for Telles' reaction: between noon and one o'clock on the eleventh the landing party under Captain LaVallette



and Halleck departed from the squadron in twenty-nine boats with 730 officers, sailors, and marines and five field pieces. No opposition was made to the landings, and at 1:10 P.M. the Stars and Stripes was hoisted over the army barracks to the accompaniment of a twenty-one gun-salute from the *Independence*.

On November 13 articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by the junta. Shubrick then imposed a moderate tariff, allowed all goods to be freely exported, promised no interference with normal life but harsh treatment for insurrectionists, and forbade the sale of liquor to United States forces. He also appointed LaVallette as governor and Halleck as lieutenant governor.

Colonel Telles, predictably, was furious that things had gone so well for the Americans, and he denounced the capitulation terms. On November 14 he moved his 700 troops nearer to the town and sent 150 men under a Swiss officer, Lieutenant Carlos Horn, to Urias on the road south to the interior with the idea of cutting off communications and trade with Mexico City. On hearing of this movement, LaVallette sent a force of ninety-four sailors under Lieutenant George Selden, with Henry Halleck to advise, to flush the Mexicans out of Urias. Another smaller party of sixty-two men under Lieutenant Stephen Rowan was sent up the Mazatlán estero by boat to cut off the enemy's retreat back to their camp. Selden and Halleck drove out one group of the enemy in the chaparral near Urias and then at dusk advanced towards the town and concealed themselves until daylight. During the night Halleck reconnoitered the area with several volunteers and at first light made contact with Rowan's party. They laid plans to coordinate an attack with Selden's men, and Halleck and his men returned to their position near Urias. At a signal from Halleck both parties attacked the town and routed the enemy who ran so quickly that Rowan and his men were unable to circle around and cut off their retreat. Four Mexicans were killed and twenty wounded, and the Americans suffered one casualty and several slightly wounded. (The information above comes from the House of Representatives, *Executive Document #17*, 31 Congress, 1 session.)

As new lieutenant governor, Halleck took up his administrative duties at Mazatlán and the responsibilities of constructing redoubts for the defense of the harbor and the approaches from the interior. Far to the north there had been some trouble at Guaymas, and the *Portsmouth* had been left there with her sailors garrisoning the town. Later, Shubrick pulled her away and replaced her with the sloop *Dale*, but when the Mexicans saw the big frigate being replaced by a sloop they plucked up courage and infiltrated the town. Commander Selfridge of the *Dale* bombarded the town to displace them and in the act of retaking the port he was badly wounded in the foot. Guaymas, however, was again garrisoned by United States forces.

Meanwhile, on the Baja peninsula Heywood's garrison at San José and Burton's at La Paz were both attacked by Pineda's men, and only with difficulty did they drive them off. In January, 1848, Heywood came under attack again and was driven from the town, and a number of his men were captured by the enemy. Heywood was able to send a message across the gulf to Shubrick who sent the *Cyane* to assist Heywood in regaining his post, which he did. At La Paz Burton received news from Mason in Monterey that another company of the New York Volunteers under the command of Captain Naglee was on its way to reinforce

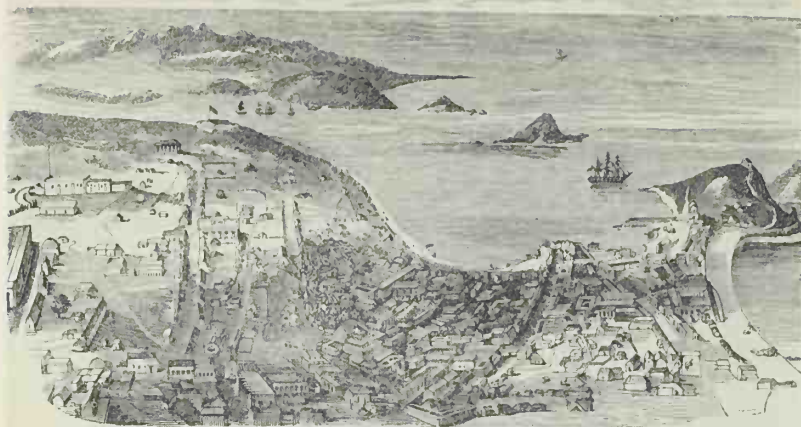
the garrisons; with any luck Burton would then be able to launch an expedition inland at the peninsula to actively engage the insurgents.

Across the gulf at Mazatlán at the end of December Telles was again flexing his muscles and building up a substantial force at Palos Prietos. LaVallette sent out two parties to dislodge Telles: fifty sailors under Lieutenant Henry Wise, again accompanied by Halleck, and a party of marines under Lieutenant William Russell. After a brief skirmish the Mexicans fled, leaving behind most of their baggage. They inflicted one casualty on the Americans, slightly wounding Lawrence Andrews, a wardroom steward on the *Independence*. Telles was replaced soon after by the new governor of Sinaloa, Don Rafael de la Vega, who was not a military man. He stationed a few troops on the road to the interior in hopes of preventing normal commercial activities, but all serious military threats were at an end.

Halleck then requested a transfer to the active theater of operations across the gulf, and he joined his old friend Burton as second in command of the United States forces for the coming active campaign against the insurgents on the peninsula. Here his memoir continues:

At Mazatlán I took passage on the 2nd of February [1848] for La Paz. The peninsula was still in an unsettled state. . . . Guerrilla parties still hung about La Paz and San José, annoying the garrisons with continual threats of an attack, but retiring to the mountains on the first appearance of a sortie party from the American works. Their principal object was to cut off those who might venture beyond the reach of our guns. . . . Their efforts proved unsuccessful until the end of January, when they succeeded in capturing Passed Midshipman Duncan Wally and five men near San José. Encouraged by the taking of prisoners the enemy converted the blockade of the little garrison into a siege. All the cattle in the vicinity of San José were driven into the interior, and as the Portsmouth had sailed for the U.S. without leaving [Heywood's] garrison with proper supplies of ammunition or provisions, there was every prospect of starving the place into surrender. Such was the state of affairs in the Peninsula at the time of our reaching La Paz. . . .

On the evening of the 7th of February we entered the bay by the northern channel between San José Island and Espiritu Santo Island, and the next morning were in sight of the town of La Paz. The houses are mostly built of adobe, and, being whitewashed, may be seen at a great distance and when approached by sea present a very pretty appearance. Hills and two sloping mountains some miles north form excellent landmarks to point out its position. The surrounding country presents a forbidding aspect, being composed of volcanic hills and arid plains covered with cactus. The sloop Cyane and several small coastal vessels were lying at anchor in the channel opposite the town, while the Stars and Stripes floated over the cuartel on the hill. The storeship Southampton [with Halleck on board] having anchored under Pinta Prieto [?] to wait for a change of tide, I took passage for the shore in a pilot boat; and as the sea was smooth, we laid our course with a light breeze directly across the shoal which extends from the [?] to near Pinta Prieto, forming the narrow channel through which vessels are obliged to pass in order to reach the town. The anchorage, however, is good almost anywhere outside this shoal; the islands of San José and Espiritu Santo protect the bay from the north and the east, and the mainland covers it from the so'westers. The appearance of La Paz on landing did not justify the favorable opinion we had formed when viewing it at a distance. The main street near the water was



Mazatlán, the most important port on the Pacific, surrendered to U.S. naval forces in November, 1847, after a number of skirmishes on the road to nearby Urias in which Halleck coordinated American attack parties.

tolerably well built up, and planted with quite pretty young trees; but the other parts of the town were mostly in ruins, a part of the buildings having been burnt by the guerrillas in their attack in November last, and others pulled down by the Americans to give greater play to their artillery. Many of the inhabitants were thus left without a home or even shelter for their heads, and soon fled to the fields and built themselves shanties of brush while others lived in the open air. War, on the smallest scale, is not without its horrors; and even in this bye-place of the earth, many a suffering female and helpless orphan live to call down the vengeance of heaven upon the heads of profligate statesmen who involve nations in useless and unnecessary wars.

Halleck discovered that there was a plan to unite a part of the crew of the *Cyane* with the garrison at La Paz to mount an expedition against the insurgents and rescue the American prisoners. A combined force of sailors and infantry could probably sustain itself against attack but would be ill-fitted to chase guerrillas who could freely move over mountainous country which they knew so well. However, it was thought, a small mobile American party in the interior would be of some value in supporting and reassuring those rancheros who continued to resist Pineda's threats. Nevertheless, the news from San José was discouraging and the garrison had been left without supplies, so the operation against the insurgents in the La Paz area had to be postponed while the *Cyane* was sent south to relieve San José and provision the garrison. Upon her return to La Paz they would perhaps set an expedition in motion again, and in the meantime Halleck determined to explore some of the islands in the gulf and visit some of the fishing villages further north on the east coast of the peninsula. On March 1 he set off in the launch of the storeship *Southampton*, with Lieutenant Worden, a pilot, and eight men.

Sailing along the islands of Espiritu Santo, San José, Santa Cruz, and looking into the ensenadas de los Burros and Dolores, we landed after five hours at San Marcia to look for a supply of gull's eggs with which this island is usually covered. . . . About two o'clock on the morning of the 5th, we reached the Bay of Escondido. As we rowed into the mouth of the harbor, the mirror-like surface of the water most beautifully reflected the stars and the dark shadows of the surrounding mountains. . . . The harbor itself is one of the finest of the world, being perfectly landmarked and having sufficient depth of water to float the largest ships ever built.

We anchored in the inner bay and waited for daylight, expecting to find a Mexican schooner which was reported to be concealed somewhere in this harbor. But when morning

came nothing was to be seen of the expected prize. . . . Finally we found the vessel hidden away in a small cove defended by one large dog and a miserable old Manila negro. We effected the capture with very little bloodshed, but the sails had been removed to Loreto . . . and if we wished to use the schooner we would have to go up to that place in the launch and secure them. This would involve the capture of the town which might not be too easy, but we decided that most of the men would be absent with Pineda, and that no opposition was likely to be made. . . . Having to contend with a headwind we did not reach the anchorage of Loreto until sundown. A lot of people had gathered around the church and they seemed to be armed. It was possible that they were a guerrilla party from Comondú or San Antonio and we might have had our hands full if we attempted to take the town with only ten of us. We resolved to land but we could not get the launch over a sand bar and we had to wade for 200 yards in water up to our necks, holding firearms above our heads to keep them dry. . . . The armed men were now apparently taking post in some underbrush bordering the town, and we approached with great caution, our guns cocked and hands on the triggers. In the hopes of surprising our opponents, we divided our eight sailors into separate columns, and directed the commander of each column, in case of a charge by the enemy's cavalry, to instantly form his men into a hollow square! Jack answered with his customary "'Aye, 'aye, Sir,'" not exactly knowing whether we were joking or in earnest. But as we approached the town the guerrillas vanished into thin air, and in their places were women and children. . . . Most of the males of the place were with Pineda, but the female community hailed our arrival with joy . . . and they were very upset when they learned our stay was to be a short one. . . .

We procured the sails, returned to the launch and set sail for Escondido. But the wind died and we had to use the oars. . . . The night was cool and our clothes were drenching wet, so the passage was far from pleasant. We reached the schooner about 1 o'clock in the morning. We lay aside our wet clothes, wrapped ourselves up in warm blankets and had a good snore. Having no room aboard the launch for bedding, we had only brought along a blanket and a pea jacket each—the deficiency was made up by the old sails of the schooner. The following day, while the sailors were busy ballasting the Rosario—the name of our prize—we made a short excursion into the interior and visited two ranchos.

March 7th. The squadron, consisting of the schooner Rosario and the launch, set sail this morning for Salinas Bay, the part of Carmen Island opposite the salt mines. . . . On the morning of the 9th we reached La Paz. We learned that the Cyane would not return for some time to unite her forces with the garrison and march against the enemy. In the meantime we sent out small parties to cut off Mexican outposts, and to pick up prisoners, horses and saddles and equipment . . . and we quietly made preparations for an expedition against San Antonio to rescue the American prisoners, and perhaps capture Pineda; and daily we increased our strength in captured horses and supplies. Some said that the garrison at San Antonio numbered less than 40 men, while others made it double that number, exclusive of the small parties, stationed on the roads leading to La Paz, who were watching our movements. The prisoners had been taken towards San José because Pineda believed that we were planning to rescue them. . . . They would probably be moved again if Pineda heard of our intended movements. . . . It was therefore necessary to act with great caution. When 30 or 40 horses had been collected, and everyone supposed that some expedition was to be undertaken, it was given out that the affair was to be postponed for several days. . . . The men were greatly disappointed at this decision, but at 9 o'clock in the evening orders were suddenly given to a party of picked men to instantly mount their horses and

start . . . while at the same time a guard was thrown around the town to prevent any person from leaving in order to communicate with the enemy. . . .”

The party consisted of Captain [Seymour G.] Steele [First New York Regiment], Lieut. Henry Halleck, Dr. [Surgeon Alexander] Perry and Acting Lieut. Scott [First New York Regiment] and Volunteer guards, numbering in all 31 officers and men. . . . [Halleck neglects to mention that three Californian guards and citizens who lived in the area also joined the party—Messrs. Herman, Ehrenberg, and Taylor.] For the first twenty miles. . . .

At this eventful moment Halleck’s journal is interrupted. For details of this important mission—in which Halleck played a leading part—to attack the enemy headquarters at San Antonio and rescue the men of Heywood’s command who had been captured and made prisoners outside San José more than one month earlier, we must rely on Captain Seymour Steele’s official report of the affair to Congress (House of Representatives, *Executive Document #31*, 30 Congress, 2 session).

Halleck’s party rode out of La Paz between nine and ten P.M. on March 15. At daylight on the sixteenth they captured one of the enemy’s pickets just eight miles from San Antonio and approached their objective under cover along an arroya and “charged into the town at full speed. . . .” They quickly rescued the prisoners from whom they learned that the Mexican garrison had been withdrawn to a defensive position just outside the town. The officers, however, were still in town, and within minutes the second in command of the insurgents, Captain Calderon, was captured, together with the adjutant, Lieutenant Arse, their flag, and all their private and public papers. The big prize, Commandante Manuel Pineda, however was lost to them: “He escaped in his night clothes, having just arisen from his bed,” reported Steele. Halleck and Steele then rallied their men, charged the Mexican positions outside the town, and drove fifty Mexicans into the adjacent hills. Three Mexicans were killed and eight wounded, and one American, Sergeant Thomas Hipwood, was killed. “Pantaloons, cravats, hats, horses, saddles attest the numerous narrow escapes,” but no Americans were wounded. Within two hours the party was on their way back to La Paz. Despite another attack from insurgents on the return trip in which six Mexicans were killed or wounded and the captured Mexican captain received a ball in his shoulder, Halleck and party covered the round trip of 128 miles in thirty hours. They were back at La Paz at 2 A.M. on the seventeenth, having led their exhausted horses on foot for the last five miles. Steele completed his report with acknowledgments: “To Surgeon Alexander Perry and Lieut. Halleck, U.S. Engineers, most sincere thanks are due for their counsel and assistance.”

Halleck’s private journal begins again after his return from the whirlwind expedition.

Reinforcements having arrived from Upper California [Captain Henry Naglee and another company of First Regiment of N.Y. Volunteers], preparations were immediately made for taking the field. Accordingly between 12 and one o’clock on the morning of the 26th [of March, 1848], Lieut. Col. Burton started from La Paz with 217 officers and men to march against the enemy. . . . An advance guard of some 50 mounted men was formed. . . . It was intended to mount the remainder of the force as soon as horses could be captured,

but for the present most of the officers and men were on foot. After a fatiguing march of about 22 miles we halted at . . . the rancho Playatas. . . . Our *vacqueros* killed a couple of bullocks. . . . Officers and men crowded round the camp fires with pieces of meat on sharpened sticks held over the burning coals. The air was filled with the savory smell . . . none but old campaigners can appreciate the pleasures of such a feast. . . . At 4 o'clock we were again on the march . . . and we entered a very broken portion of the country . . . parts of the road were filled with volcanic stones, and we occasionally crossed hills of granite with fantastic twists and contortions whose colored veins gave evidence of what in former ages were the agonies of a burning world. After a few miles we overtook the advance guard—they had learnt from a captured partisan that Pineda with a few attendants were still at San Antonio; and the remainder of the guerrillas were near Santiago under the command of one, Castro. It was important to push on without delay. . . . We reached Las Trincheras, where there was water, at 8 o'clock in the evening, having marched about 34 miles in the last 24 hours. . . ."

March 27th. Left Las Trincheras this morning at 9 o'clock. During the forenoon we passed over a part of the country entirely destitute of grass, and covered only with cactus and stunted trees. . . . A small advance guard of mounted men pushed rapidly forward to San Antonio, and succeeded in surprising Pineda and his party, and the main body entered the town about 6 o'clock having marched this day 18 miles. . . ."

They remained next day in San Antonio where friendly *rancheros* brought them horses, and more of the column became mounted infantry. More *rancheros* joined them and volunteered to act as guides through the mountain passes. Other *rancheros*, Halleck recorded, "had undertaken to reconnoiter the enemy and bring us information." When the reconnaissance party had not returned by the dawn of the twenty-ninth, Burton and Halleck decided to continue south to Santiago which lay on the road to San José. On the road by 5 A.M., a few miles from San Antonio they met a courier from Santiago who told them that "the enemy had left that place and were crossing the main range by the road from Miraflores to the Mission of Todos Santos." Countermarching the column, the party returned to San Antonio and took the road across the peninsula to Todos Santos. Halleck wrote:

On leaving the valley of San Antonio we ascended into the mining district, and at 9 o'clock halted for breakfast at a rancho in the Arroya Honda. The whole of this district is extremely barren . . . scarcely enough grass to feed our horses. Nevertheless the cattle were in excellent condition, and we were able to get two or three fat bullocks for our men. At one o'clock we resumed the march . . . across rolling countryside thickly covered with small trees. At dark we bivouaced near a rancho on the Arroya de la Muella . . . about 24 miles from San Antonio, we had travelled today about 30 miles. . . . Most of our horses were ready to give out, and the men threw themselves on the ground and instantly fell asleep. . . . The roads we had travelled over the mountains were mere paths, and much of the way . . . we had come through arroyas or dry river beds, where the sand, or *terra perdida* as it is called, was ankle deep. The sun has been excessive and watering places are 15 or 20 miles apart; moreover it has been impossible to procure pack mules for carrying anything but hard bread for the march . . . and each unmounted soldier—and we still had 90 or so without horses—was compelled to carry on his back in addition to his arms and accoutre-

ments, his knapsack, blanket and canteen of water. For old soldiers this forced march would not have been a difficult one, but with our men it was pretty severe. . . .

March 30th. As the success of the expedition was dependent upon rapid movements, our men, notwithstanding their fatigue, were ordered to march this morning by 4 o'clock. It was, however, no easy matter to get them in motion. . . . We were determined to reach the Mission before the enemy could learn of our intentions. . . .

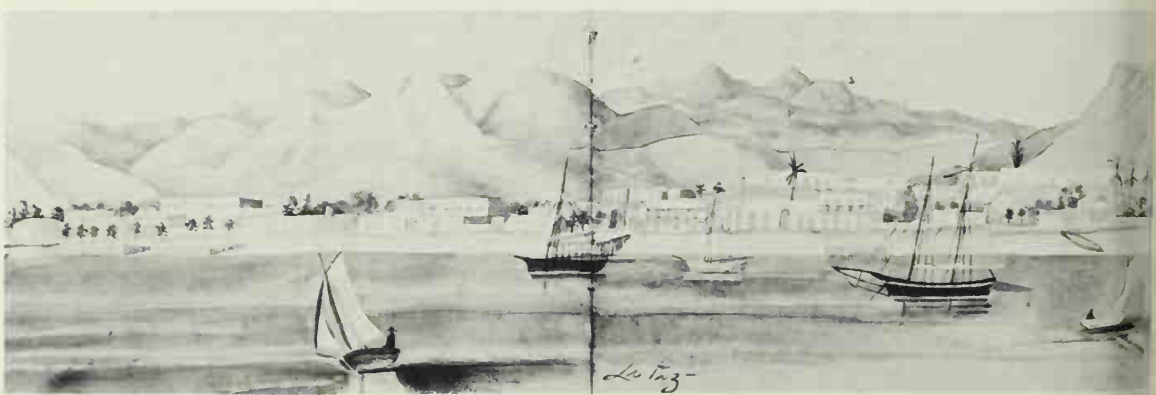
A party of forty-five mounted men were now detailed to cut the coast road some miles north of Todos Santos, and as this road is much longer than that taken by the infantry, it was supposed that the two would reach the Mission about the same time. If the main body of the enemy should take the coast road it was expected that our cavalry would be able to hold them in check till we could reach them with our infantry. The affair turned out precisely as we had anticipated. The enemy, seeing the dust raised by our cavalry north of the town mistook it for our main body, and took the main road from the Mission to the Arroya de la Muella from which our infantry were marching. They encountered our advance guard . . . and posted themselves on a high hill commanding the road ready to receive our attack. . . .

Early the following morning we sent our small parties to collect provisions and to secure horses; and in the afternoon a party of fifty men was sent along the road to Magdalena Bay in pursuit of a body of Yaquis [the insurgents' Indian allies]. . . . The main body of our troops remained several days at Todos Santos hunting out small parties of the enemy . . . and collecting horses from neighboring ranchos. On the morning of the 5th [April] they commenced the return march to La Paz taking the road by Arroya Honda and the Vanillos. . . .

At 6 o'clock the same morning I started with 25 mounted men for San José in order to clear the roads of any guerrillas that might be found in that direction. . . . After a hard days ride we encamped for the night near the plain of La Mesa and here found grass for our horses but no water. . . . The whole country was parched and where we had crossed fine mountain streams last November, we found only dry arroyas. The next morning we captured a number of guerrillas. . . . We reached San José about sundown, having ridden nearly 90 miles within the last two days. We remained at San José for a day to rest our exhausted mounts . . . and met up with Lieut. Selden with a party of sailors and marines. They had just returned from Santiago with 30 prisoners, having reached that place in time to meet some of the enemy force as it fled across the mountains from the field of Todos Santos. . . . They had surrendered without a fight.

Halleck's party left San José on April 8 for La Paz, accompanied as far as San-

On his return from Mazatlán in February, 1848, Halleck reported that "the peninsula was still in an unsettled state" and that "guerrilla parties still hung about La Paz," a beautiful harbor town of white adobe houses, painted in 1869 by William H. Hilton.



tiago by Passed Midshipman McRae and a party of sailors. Halleck describes the country in great detail, particularly its arability. "A fertile little valley occupied with vegetable gardens and little fields of sugar cane . . . the water courses are ornamented with orange trees." The people along the way and at Santiago treated them with great kindness and supplied them with food. "All seemed perfectly disgusted with Mexican rule," Halleck noted with some satisfaction, "and expressed themselves delighted with the change, and particularly pleased with the prospect of our retaining possession of the country." Leaving Santiago, Halleck continued:

April 9th. The first few miles out of Santiago our road lay in the dry bed of what once was a river. . . . At 10 o'clock we struck the coast at La Playa de la Pajua; after resting for a couple of hours near this beach, we ascended to the Rio de los Charros whose narrow valley was bordered on both sides by lofty mountains. Not a breath of air was stirring and the rays of the sun, being reflected by the white sand of the river bed and the grey sides of the barren mountains, made the heat almost unbearable. . . . The dazzling brightness of the sun compelled our men to veil their eyes with their pocket handkerchiefs. At 6 o'clock we reached the valley of Los Charros where the alcalde killed a cow for us and prepared to entertain us in the homely but hospitable style of the country. . . . He fed us with plenty of aguardiente, tortillas and beef, and gave us dry hides upon which to spread our blankets. Few Californian rancheros have anything more to offer; but the kindness and true hospitality with which it is given make it more acceptable than the most sumptuous entertainment in more wealthy countries. . . ."

Halleck's journal ends with a series of disjointed notes following this April 9 entry regarding his proposed return to La Paz with his twenty-five men after a sweep of the country which began at Todos Santos on the west coast of the Baja Peninsula and carried him through San José. He communicated with Commander Selfridge of the sloop *Cyane* and arrived back at La Paz on April 11 with ten prisoners. On April 12 he penned a 3,500-word report to Colonel Mason, commanding officer of the Tenth Military Department, on "The Reconnaissance of the Coast of California, with reference to the location of works of military defense. . . ." The interesting, three-part report covers every possible subject, including defense, which might involve the future of the area if Baja California would be ceded to the United States in a treaty of peace with Mexico.

In May, 1848, Commodore Shubrick wrote to Colonel Mason and reported the end of the Lower California campaign. Anticipating the ratification of the treaty of peace with Mexico momentarily, he instructed Halleck to proceed to Monterey on the storeship *Southampton* with all the captured papers, the captured flags, and none other than the prisoner Gabriel González and his son Villaino. Accordingly, Halleck returned to Monterey in June, 1848, where he resumed his duties as secretary of state of the Territory of California.

While Halleck's unfinished journal contains no indication of his reflections on the Baja campaign nor of his own role in significant skirmishes, Burton's dispatches to the assistant adjutant general of the Tenth Military Department, Lieutenant William T. Sherman, particularly commend Halleck's lively attack on San Antonio on March 27 (his second attack on the town and one to which he refers only casually in his journal) which resulted in the capture of the wily in-

surrectionist leader Pineda. Burton also describes the attack on Todos Santos on March 30-31 "when Companies A and B under the direction of Lieut. Halleck were deployed as skirmishers in such a manner as to expose the enemy to a cross-fire. . . ." Continuing, Burton declared: "My warmest thanks are due to Lieut. Halleck for his assistance as Chief of Staff, and I present him particularly to the notice of the colonel commanding [Mason] for the able manner in which he led the attack on the 30th ultimo [March]." Again, Halleck hardly mentions this final battle at Todos Santos and characteristically gives the impression that he was little more than an observer.

Although the fighting in Baja California was many times bloodier than that in the northern province, the war was not won in either California but by the victories of Generals Taylor and Scott in eastern Mexico. The peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo disregarded the American victories in Baja California, the pronouncements of American officers, and the sympathies of many Baja Californians as apprised by Halleck. It confirmed the American possession of the Southwest and in Alta California but restored the province of Baja to Mexico. Halleck's efforts were recognized in Washington, D.C., however, in the form of promotion back-dated to May 1, 1847, addressed "To Brevet Captain for gallant conduct in affairs with the enemy . . . and for meritorious service in California. . . ."

THE PORTRAIT of Halleck is courtesy California Historical Society; the map courtesy California State Archives. The Meyers' water color on page 227 is from *Sketches of California and Hawaii* by . . . Meyers . . . 1842-43 (San Francisco, 1970); those on pages 230-31, 234, and 235 are from *Naval Sketches on the War in California* . . . (New York, 1939). The Mazatlán engraving is from *Gleason's Drawing Room Companion*, May 17, 1851, and the water color on page 242 is from William H. Hilton's *Sketches in the Southwest and Mexico, 1858-1877* (Los Angeles, 1963) courtesy the Huntington Library, San Marino.

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The Steam Beer Handicap: Chris Buckley and the San Francisco Municipal Election of 1896

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WHEN CHRISTOPHER AUGUSTINE BUCKLEY, San Francisco's Democratic party boss of the 1880's, recalled the golden era of his career, he insisted that 1890 marked his final sortie into the active political fray and that the subsequent three decades were passed "mainly as a farmer in the beautiful Livermore valley and always as a private citizen."¹ The Boss, however, recalled his retirement with something less than candor or with less than perfect memory. Political inactivity and bucolic retreat to the acres of vineyards across San Francisco Bay at "Ravenswood" neither appealed to his dynamic personality, satiated his appetite for political activity, nor characterized his conduct in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Except for a three-year period of absence from the city (1891-1894), he was always indirectly involved in politics, and he made at least one more overt and energetic effort to reassert influence and regain status in San Francisco and California politics. The Boss chose to make his comeback bid in 1896, a most unusual and complex year in both national and local affairs.

National issues permeated the rhetoric of the local contest: the Panic of 1893 and the gold drain, expansive industrialism and its regulation, Populism and the silver question, overseas expansion and the tariff, urban-rural tensions and the strains of modernism.² Specific points of local contention added both sound and fury: charter revision, Oriental exclusion, the railroad funding issue,³ municipal ownership of utilities, woman suffrage, bossism and corruption, the anti-Catholic American Protective Association, internecine partisan warfare, and even an appeal to the city's newest organized political bloc, bicycle riders or "wheelmen." Before the campaign reached its climax, factionalism had shattered both major parties, and no fewer than eleven full or partial tickets had appeared in the field.⁴ For the history of municipal politics in San Francisco, however, 1896 had even more explicit significance. It was a pivotal year, one marking the origins of a transition from the era of the saloon-boss to an age of businesslike management in urban affairs. To be sure, charter revision, the question which the city's better citizens considered fundamental, only concerned most San Franciscans sufficiently

to induce half who voted on other candidates and issues to register an opinion. Consequently, like similar efforts in the 1880's and 1890's, the new organic law suffered a narrow defeat. Nevertheless, the individual most closely associated with the reform drive, James D. Phelan, captured the office of mayor handily. Within two years Phelan brought San Francisco to its rightful place in the ranks of major American cities with a modern, efficient, businesslike, and hopefully non-partisan municipal charter. Clearly, then, political currents on the Bay were shifting in 1896. Boss Chris Buckley, however, attempted to reverse the tide in that election year with traditional tactics and forays into Democratic and Populist politics, efforts which local journalists dubbed the "steam beer handicap."⁵

The precise motives which impelled Buckley to post his colors in what must have been an obviously overmatched sweepstakes are by no means clear. Certainly, however, he was no political neophyte unaware of the nature of the contest. On the contrary, early associations, a thorough apprenticeship, and decades of public life had keenly honed his sensitivity to the currents of political change. With his Irish immigrant parents, the young Chris Buckley spent the 1850's in New York City's notorious Fourteenth Ward, the spawning ground for such future Tammany Hall luminaries as Richard Croker and "Honest John" Kelly. However, true initiation into the rites and intricacies of municipal politics commenced only with his arrival in San Francisco in 1862 at age seventeen. There he purportedly placed himself behind the bar of a Montgomery Street saloon and under the tutelage of Republican party boss William Higgins. Later in the 1860's, residence in Vallejo and the vast patronage potential of the town's United States Navy Yard completed his political grooming. Upon returning to San Francisco, Buckley opportunely switched his allegiance to reorganize the city's Democracy after the Kearneyite sand-lot debacle of the 1870's and established himself as boss—a position, he asserted, thrust upon him by the most respected local Democrats.⁶

Throughout the 1880's, despite blindness, the Boss maintained political authority through persistent involvement with leaders and movements in the city and the state. In fact, he transformed his tragic physical handicap into a political asset, developing the uncanny ability to recognize individuals by voice, handclasp, or even footfall and a memory which facilitated resumption of long-interrupted conversations. Such cultivated talents, along with innate gifts of intellect and personal charm, permitted Buckley an intimate familiarity with the kaleidoscope of municipal affairs, and affiliation with railroad and other business interests extended his influence from the Board of Supervisors to the public schools, the waterfront, the underworld, and even the state government. Holding no elective office in his own right, the Blind Boss nevertheless remained the power behind the throne in San Francisco politics for a decade and a factor in California and local statcraft for nearly a quarter of a century.⁷

Thus, when Buckley went to the post in 1896, it must have been with acute awareness of altered urban conditions and the length of the odds against him. Still, he entered the race and ran it as if intending to claim the entire purse—both its power and its plunder. The Boss was hardly averse to the monetary rewards of political sweepstakes; on his death he left an estate of nearly one million dollars,⁸ surely more than the yield of profitable viticulture. As Buckley himself put it, "I had opportunities—certainties, I might say," in both business and politics.⁹



Smoking the urban boss's proverbial stogey is San Francisco's version of the Tammany Tiger who proclaims, "Wow! I own the town." Labeled "The Push" after the name given Buckley's loyal and aggressive supporters, the tiger self-satisfiedly sips a mug of steam beer before the municipal election dubbed the "steam beer handicap." Swinnerton was a well-known cartoonist of the period. *San Francisco Examiner*, September 28, 1896.

Conceivably, opportunities and certainties—involving patronage, power, and possibly cash—may have presented themselves and motivated entry into the steam beer handicap, not as a stakes contender but as a stalking horse.

Rumors abounded in San Francisco in late August, 1896, and one of them involved the Democratic boss and sugar heir John D. Spreckels, a Republican now uncertain of his position in the inner circles of the party. When newspapers revealed clandestine Savoy Hotel meetings with the Boss, speculation concerning their purposes proliferated. Spreckels had ambitions to place Samuel M. Shortridge in the United States Senate, perhaps to promote sugar tariff interests, and a Buckley legislative ticket in the field might well split Democratic voters and insure a Republican state legislature. Should a few Democrats actually win, their votes also could be pledged to Shortridge's candidacy.¹⁰ More directly, the Boss could employ time-honored methods and the muscle of his "Lambs" to control Republican primaries and give Spreckels the necessary delegates at his party's municipal convention.¹¹ Precisely what the transaction might have held for Buckley never clearly emerged. Perhaps Spreckels pledged the power to distribute state and local patronage. Or perhaps it involved something more substantial for, as the Boss admitted, "I placed a stiff value on my services and always rated

myself as a high-priced man."¹² In any case, developments supported such suppositions. Buckley adherents not only joined but also organized Spreckels Clubs throughout the city, and the Boss himself busily "met hundreds of men in his Ellis-street headquarters."¹³ Indeed, these new and more sumptuous accommodations—coincidentally in the Spreckels Building—did little to allay suspicion of collusion. In mid-July, Buckley's organization had been so destitute that electric light service to its Occidental Club rooms had been terminated for the second time in three months, and the Lambs were using coal-oil lamps, "both cheap and good," for light. One week later, they installed themselves on Ellis Street.¹⁴ Such circumstantial evidence constitutes something less than proof of conspiracy, yet to San Franciscans of the period, it did suggest possible and plausible reasons for the Blind Boss' renewed interest in politics.

If rumored dealings with Spreckels and Shortridge offer no conclusive explanation for Buckley's activity in 1896, neither do hints of possible involvement with a second would-be United States senator, the Populist Thomas Vincent Cator. Fusion with sympathetic candidates of other parties had been a tactic constantly debated in Populist circles. Early in September, 1896, Cator circulated a letter suggesting possible arrangements with Democratic candidates in California. Indeed, the document implied authority from the Populist State Central Committee permitting Cator to strike bargains: Populist support for congenial municipal and judicial candidates in exchange for legislative commitment to Cator's campaign for the Senate.¹⁵ A political veteran like Buckley could hardly miss the potential for patronage—if not for plunder—in such an alliance. However, any connection between the Boss and the Populist remains largely in the realm of conjecture. Only subsequent events at the Populist municipal convention provided substance. Pleading business commitments, Cator absented himself from the floor on the night that the most prominent Populist mayoral candidate, Taylor Rogers, declined the nomination. Cator's own candidate, "simon pure Populist" Dr. Jerome A. Anderson, went down to defeat, and Buckleyite Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond won the People's party endorsement.¹⁶ The realities of the arrangement which events implied and Populists suspected remains an enigma. Still, Dimond's victory and those of numerous other Lambs at the Populist municipal convention was certainly neither accidental nor inconceivable as an explanation for Buckley's political activity.

Nor was still another possibility which the Boss himself suggests in his memoirs. His 1896 coterie may have constituted the kind of "piece club" made possible by unregulated and lawless primary elections. Under the old system,

any group of cheap skates could assemble in a back room, create a sham party with a high-sounding name, and claim to have four or five thousand voters. . . . With this for an asset, the head manipulators could sally forth and mace candidates of the regular parties out of large sums of money for nominations or endorsements.¹⁷

If the Blind Boss' organization was indeed a piece club, it was to be a grand one, claiming not four or five thousand adherents but twenty thousand.¹⁸

Alleged complicity with Spreckels and Cator or the possibility of a magnificent piece club furnish only hints concerning Buckley's return to politics in 1896; they supply no definitive answers. Nor does further speculation regarding the nature

of the man himself. From the late 1860's until 1890, Buckley had been actively and intimately involved with San Francisco and its politics. Politics had, by his own account,¹⁹ occupied most of his time and nearly all of his energies. Indeed, Buckley was committed to the city. In a rare instance of candor, he remarked, "From the moment I landed [in San Francisco], . . . I have loved the old town and its people, and love both still. It is the only place on earth that seems like home to me."²⁰ As a man, the Blind Boss was urban if not urbane, and it is hardly likely that life in the vineyards could long satisfy him or absorb his energies. Without venturing too far into the often precarious field of post-mortem psychological and behavioral analysis, it is possible to suggest that the excitement of the thing, as much as any other factor, motivated Buckley's activities in 1896.

Although his precise purposes remain elusive, the decision to enter the race was anything but impulsive. Indeed, as early as March, elements of an organization—variously called the "Buckley Democrats," the "Occidental Club" Democracy, or "Buckley's Business Men"²¹—had begun to appear, claiming to represent the party in San Francisco and determined to secure county recognition and seats at the State Democratic Convention in June. Though journalists treated the activities rather facetiously, the Boss' cadres went about the business of campaign organization deliberately and sustained their efforts until the election in November. The municipal campaign of 1896, however, would be no easy contest for the Boss or his followers. Buckley had absented himself from the city between 1891 and 1894, avoiding grand jury indictment and leaving behind a substantial cohort of Lambs who were still active in local politics.²² Without the Boss' guidance, however, they suffered a severe drubbing at the hands of Gavin McNab and his reform Democrats in the primary elections of 1892.²³ When Buckley returned to San Francisco in 1894, he was too late and under too dense a cloud to participate in that year's municipal contest.

The general election of 1896, however, would be another story. Early in the year, the Boss' Occidental Club headquarters became the scene of visibly increased activity and attracted well-known remnants of the old South-of-Market-Street "push," the "boys of the bejasus order, . . . who rivaled Orpheus on the concertina, who chanted that most moving of all songs, 'Big Horse, I Love You,' in one breath and unlimbered their awful battlecry in the next."²⁴ These experts at stuffing ballot boxes and intimidating voters included ex-prizefighter Aleck Greggains, state senator M. J. "Pickle" Donovan, perennial candidate Tom Egan, the "boy orator of Tar Flat," and a host of others.²⁵ A new element, however, rallied to Buckley's standard, not only to lead the push but also to add an aura of respectability. In this group, derisively christened "Buckley's Business Men" by a hostile press,²⁶ appeared former and incumbent state and local officials, attorneys, merchants, contractors, speculators, insurance agents, and several physicians. To be sure, ties to the Blind Boss and the salad days of the 1880's abounded. But by 1896, affluence had placed many of the new Buckley leadership among the gentlemen of property and standing in the community, even in the eyes of an unfriendly editor.²⁷

Though the campaign would ultimately prove to be a study in frustration for both elements of the Boss' party, they commenced their effort in a spirit of confidence, gravity, and determination and prepared for what must have been an



BUCKLEY WOULD NOW A FARMER BE.

Swinnerton sketched Buckley in farmers' clothes as a two-edged comment on his "ranching" in Livermore and his pre-election involvement of expediency with the Populist party. Examiner, October 2, 1896.

The career of Christopher Augustine Buckley, San Francisco Democratic party boss of the 1880's, became a casualty of the late-nineteenth century Progressive municipal reform movement.



obviously uphill struggle toward two principal goals: immediate recognition as the official wing of the party in San Francisco and seating at the State Democratic Convention in June. An executive council, five delegates from each assembly district in the city under the chairmanship of attorney Joseph Rothschild, gathered in Odd Fellows Hall on the evening of March 11 to organize for the first objective, the formidable task of unseating Gavin McNab's "Junta" Democracy,²⁸ as city newspapers had labeled it. Strategy involved a direct appeal to the party State Central Committee, scheduled to meet in the city on March 14. Even before that body arrived, however, it became apparent that little hope existed for Buckley's success. Neither San Francisco's committee members nor those from rural counties had disguised their hostility toward Buckley or their determination to repudiate bossism. When the central committee rendered its decision, therefore, the outcome surprised no one. Unimpressed by pleas of legitimacy and longevity delivered by Buckleyite spokesmen Reel B. Terry and James C. Nealon, the committee denounced the Blind Boss and sanctioned McNab's faction by a vote of sixty-one to seven.²⁹

Unintimidated, the Lambs spent the period from mid-March through May girding up for a vigorous assault on their second objective: the state convention. They regrouped, formulated policy statements, denounced the state committee's action, challenged its authority in local party matters, and resolved to hold primary elections in defiance of its decision.³⁰ By the end of April, Buckley's Business Men had set dates for primaries and appointed committees to conduct their campaign.³¹ Activity intensified in May when Senator Donovan and Chairman Rothschild organized party primaries to name a reliable delegation to the state convention, one which would block the selection of Frank Gould of Stockton to chair the state meeting. Reflecting his own ire at Gould's actions as chairman of the central committee which had denounced him,³² Buckley also acted vigorously toward the same end. Announcing his intention to fight the central committee in the courts, he took his personal fight to Southern California where he allegedly plotted with railroad interests, the Liquor Dealers Association, and American Protective Association Democrats to rig the Los Angeles delegation in his favor. Simultaneously, the press placed the Boss' agents in Alameda, Contra Costa, Solano, and San Joaquin counties, all for similar purposes.³³

Though the campaign was a matter of extreme seriousness to the Buckleyites, neither rival politicians nor local journalists could view their activities with equal gravity. Gavin McNab, for example, confronted with Rothschild's claim of twenty thousand supporters on the eve of the Buckley primary, wryly expressed "astonishment at his moderation, paper and ink being so cheap."³⁴ After the primaries had taken place, an *Examiner* reporter, obviously amused, observed that "the legitimate vote cast in the various districts was light," frequently less than the number of delegates chosen.³⁵ In a similar tone, the *Chronicle* expressed wonder and amazement at the frantic activity of the "once celebrated but now third-rate 'push'," when even its leaders seemed confused about the actual purposes of their efforts.³⁶ Through it all, however, the Boss himself remained taciturn, always in the background and never providing enlightenment, if indeed he could.

Nevertheless, efforts persisted and intensified, despite derision and clear indications that no Buckley delegation, no matter how energetic or how constituted,

could anticipate recognition at the convention. As had been the case at the central committee meeting, nominees to the state convention—from the city and rural counties alike—expressed open hostility. Indeed, both Frank Gould's selection and Buckley's rejection were virtually assured two weeks before delegates gathered in Sacramento, even without San Francisco's disputed votes.³⁷ Still, the Boss' executive committee ignored the obvious and proceeded as if victory were at hand. Caucusing behind closed doors, the Lambs planned to dispatch circulars—including one signed by "Billy the Bum"—throughout the state, proclaiming legitimacy and demanding support.³⁸ As the convention neared, meetings increased in frequency (though not in decorum), and the party lined up on the issues: for free silver, against railroad funding, behind Oriental exclusion, and in support of established Democratic candidates.³⁹ The show of "regularity," however, would profit them little in Sacramento.

Plagued by dissension in the ranks and by diminishing resources, Buckley's delegation made its way to the state convention, some by train and the less affluent members of the push in wagons provided by a sympathetic contractor⁴⁰—only to be denied seats. To be sure, the Lambs did bluff and bluster past a superannuated doorkeeper and occupy seats assigned to the San Francisco delegation in a boisterous effort to subvert Gould's election and gain recognition,⁴¹ but the invasion only delayed the inevitable. Gould won the chairmanship and appointed a credentials committee which, when it met, summarily rejected the Buckley delegation.⁴² The result was precisely what the Boss must have known it would be, a second defeat in just three months. With little purpose to be served by remaining in Sacramento, he led his disgruntled Lambs—by rail and by cart—back to San Francisco.

Thus, the first phase of Buckley's campaign closed and the second opened simultaneously with the retreat from the state convention. Disappointment there, however, diminished neither the determination of the Lambs nor that of their leader. Indeed, the Boss lost little time in proclaiming his intention to remain in the contest and threatening to take complaints concerning his rejection not only to the courts but also to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.⁴³ Moreover, his lieutenants refused to let the spirit of the push wane. On the evening of June 23, less than one week after the debacle in Sacramento, nearly four hundred of the faithful gathered in B'nai B'rith Hall to denounce the state convention's action. To the vociferous response of assembled Lambs, delegates to the state meeting, including Railroad Commissioner Dr. James I. Stanton, characterized their treatment as rigged from the very outset. Furthermore, Buckleyites again proclaimed their determination to defy the party and field a separate slate of legislative nominees, a decision which precipitated the initial rumors of collusion with Spreckels.⁴⁴

Following an interlude devoid of overt activity, a second mass meeting, complete with bonfires, pageantry, rhetoric, and visiting feminist Susan B. Anthony, assembled on the evening of July 11 to ratify the outcome of the Democratic National Convention.⁴⁵ Such celebrations may have maintained the enthusiasm of local supporters, but they had little impact on the power structure of the state party. When Democrats announced the composition of the executive committee chosen to guide campaign affairs in California, the roster included no Buckleyites.

Indeed, all San Francisco representatives were "Junta" Democrats, including Gavin McNab.⁴⁶ The action was an obvious reiteration of the stand taken by the central committee and the state convention. In addition, it also soon became apparent that the Lambs were to be deprived in a matter closer to home: the distribution of patronage involved in selecting local election precinct officials. A series of unharmonious and frequently agitated meetings of the San Francisco Election Commission systematically excluded the Boss's organization from participation, despite Buckley's demand for recognition and a division of the patronage. Only one election commissioner, Mayor Adolph Sutro, supported the Boss, and his attitude prompted Commissioner William Broderick to pronounce the mayor "a windbag and a faker" at a particularly disorderly session.⁴⁷ Sutro's defense notwithstanding, the "Junta" prevailed once again and received authority to name all Democratic precinct officials in the city.⁴⁸ The Blind Boss could only protest and add one more to his lengthening list of defeats.

Still, with the exception of perfunctory denunciations of Democratic election commissioners, especially Broderick,⁴⁹ Buckley and his followers proceeded as if nothing were amiss. Assuming the title "Regular Democratic Party," the Boss's executive committee assembled at headquarters, now in the Spreckels Building, to lay plans for primary elections and a municipal convention, each to be the earliest (to permit an anticipated court test) and the largest of the local campaign.⁵⁰ Regular Democrats would select 450 delegates to the contest's first municipal convention.⁵¹ While awaiting those momentous events, the Lambs organized district clubs, contemplated fusion with sympathetic Populists, and nominated a full slate of legislative candidates.⁵² To the apparent surprise and perhaps disappointment of local journalists, the primaries on September 1 produced just one minor incident. Partisans of rival candidates in the seventeenth senatorial district expelled poll-watchers and "proceeded to use up all the ballots on hand" in support of their respective favorites.⁵³ It was hardly the Buckley primary of old.

Nor were the meetings of the Buckley convention in B'nai B'rith Hall to be reminiscent of the 1880's, though waggish newspapermen could not resist allusions to the quiet night which city police experienced on the streets during the first gathering on September 3. Inside, after a flurry of activity as delegates mustered support for special interests, the convention settled down to business. Even the selection of James C. Nealon as chairman over Buckley's own favorite produced only a murmur. Still more smoothly, Dan Reardon became convention secretary on the basis of his popularity with delegates. After all, he explained to a reporter, "didn't I arrest half of thim [*sic*] when I was on the police force and convict none. . .?"⁵⁴ Following the disposition of such preliminaries, the convention moved swiftly and predictably, almost as if programmed. Indeed, the credentials committee required but fifteen minutes to certify all 450 delegates.⁵⁵

The September 5 meeting, however, showed signs of vitality—and provided more grist for the journalistic humor mill—when it "resolved itself into bedlam twice and there was one fight" between supporters of hopeful nominees. The altercation only demonstrated "some slight indications of Democratic life" and subsided quickly when Chairman Nealon appointed "ten well-known scrappers . . . to lend some dignity to the proceedings."⁵⁶ Once the scrappers had restored order, delegates adopted their platform with a minimum of disturbance: catcalls

at the woman-suffrage plank and facetious remarks about a provision calling for the treatment of bicycles as baggage on the railways.⁵⁷ Despite the relative decorum and the apparent gravity of delegates, most reporters refused to take them seriously. Indeed, it was the nomination of "political gelding" Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond to head the ticket, after his "trainer" and "jockey" had pronounced him "fit to run from a policeman," which inspired the "steam beer handicap" metaphor.⁵⁸ Mayoral candidate Dimond was, to be sure, a relative unknown in local politics.⁵⁹ However, delegates to the Buckley convention nominated him unanimously and, at subsequent sessions, uneventfully completed their task, naming a full slate of municipal candidates to run on the Regular Democratic ticket. Only a few minor conflicts emerged, most to be settled by the Boss himself.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, journalists could not resist final comment on the number of "O's" and "Mc's" on the ticket, and on the disappearance of Dimond, about whom "word has gone out that Buckley has him chained up in his backyard at Livermore."⁶¹

Though reporters deprecated Buckleyite efforts, both the Boss and his followers pursued their goal steadfastly, as responses to subsequent developments indicate. Almost simultaneously, the Regular Democrats adjourned their convention and two significant crises confronted the party: state supreme court rulings that county officials were not to run for office in 1896 and that the Buckley nominees were ineligible to appear on the official ballot. On September 16, the high court handed down its interpretation of an 1893 legislative act extending the terms of all county officials elected in 1894 to four years.⁶² In San Francisco, where the Consolidation Act of 1856 combined numerous city and county offices, the ruling had particular significance.⁶³ However, since the decision affected all parties equally, it did not represent a great loss to the Boss's forces, except for the potential patronage involved. In any case, Buckley chose to ignore the court and place his entire slate of city and county candidates in the field.⁶⁴

The second setback would prove more substantial. Indeed, the city registrar of voters refused to include the Regular Democratic ticket on the official ballot, citing lack of recognition by the state party as his justification. The Boss responded, first with writ of mandate to compel the registrar to place the disputed candidates on the ballot with the word "Democrat" following each name, and then with a special suit on behalf of his candidate for superintendent of streets.⁶⁵ After a month's delay, the supreme court decided against Buckley's party,⁶⁶ a ruling which the Boss had apparently anticipated with careful preparation. On October 10, the evening following the decision, the party reassembled to ratify its entire ticket,⁶⁷ and the morning of October 11 found the streets swarming with Lambs circulating petitions for a new organization, the Anti-Charter Democratic party, which proclaimed Jeffersonian principles, opposition to the proposed charter, and adherence to the tenets of the now-defunct Regular Democratic party platform.⁶⁸ Determination to stay in the race characterized the effort, and it paid dividends. By October 17, the new party had sufficient signatures to insure its place on the ballot.⁶⁹

Buckley, however, left little to chance. He had prepared for the contingency that the petition drive might fail by opening the third and perhaps most incongruous phase of his campaign even before the second had closed. The Blind Boss and his Lambs infiltrated the San Francisco People's party.

Populism had retained some strength in California, and the party commenced preparation for the 1896 campaign early in the spring.⁷⁰ In the city itself, the Populist central committee organized for primary elections and a mid-September municipal convention to be held in a giant tent at Martin and Larkin streets.⁷¹ Opposition to the proposed municipal charter, later attributed to Buckley's influence, emerged as a major point of contention at preliminary Populist meetings.⁷² However, fusion persisted as the most significant and potentially divisive issue. After a joint Democratic-Populist committee on fusion had collapsed in failure, the People's party resolved to appoint its own committee to approach congenial candidates individually, to arrange suitable bargains, and to promote the senatorial candidacy of Thomas V. Cator.⁷³ Despite the committee's effort, the San Francisco party, unlike its counterpart in Oakland across the Bay, failed to implement fusion, rejected the tactic as impracticable, and elected to support individual candidates loyal to Bryan and to silver.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, fusion would characterize the Populists' municipal ticket, but neither as they anticipated it nor on their terms. The People's party had little cohesiveness or consistency in the city, and Buckley skillfully capitalized upon its weaknesses. In numerous districts which lacked organizational strength, Anti-Charter Democrats entered and won Populist municipal convention primaries, assuring the Blind Boss of forty-three of approximately one hundred delegates.⁷⁵ When general sessions opened in the last days of September, both the Boss's strength and his intent became all too clear. Not only duly-elected Buckley delegates but also the rank and file of the push invaded the floor and gallery of the convention tent, suggesting a conquest and prompting one regular delegate to comment on the multitude of "strange faces which I see for the first time in a Populist convention."⁷⁶ The implications of the invasion were obvious, but just as clearly, little could be done to forestall them.

But the inevitable did not occur immediately. At early sessions of the convention, confusion—possibly the consequence of the Lambs' presence—resulted in a decision to postpone nominations until an investigative committee could report on proposed candidates, including a host of Buckley men.⁷⁷ While they awaited the report, Populists formulated and adopted a clearly reformist municipal platform, one which had little in common with the Anti-Charter Democrats' program.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, submission of the investigation committee's report on the evening of September 28 precipitated a deluge of Buckleyite nominations which would continue for three subsequent meetings.⁷⁹ Through it all, Buckley remained in the Populist tent, consistently in the background but still making his presence felt. Messengers carried orders to and fro, directing both nominations and balloting. Indeed, had the Boss's emissaries been more reliable, he might have won more than he did, but errors were costly. One agent, for example, scurried about the tent whispering "Buck says Spinetti don't go [for police court judge]," not only to Lamb delegates but also to ideologically committed Populist Burnett G. Haskell who protested indignantly and disrupted convention proceedings. Spinetti ultimately did go, as did Haskell, also a candidate for police court judge nomination.⁸⁰ But so, too, did a pair of Buckley's choices,⁸¹ and that pattern would remain consistent throughout the remainder of the convention. Over Populist protests, Anti-Charter Democrats captured 60 per cent of the places on the People's party municipal ticket, including Dimond's



Martin Kelly, Buckley's counterpart and contemporary, became the butt of cartoons in the election of 1898, evidence of the change in political climate which had rejected Buckley in the municipal election two years earlier. Examiner, November 3, 1898.

nomination for mayor by a vote of seventy-four to thirty.⁸² Some of the Boss's cohorts won by acclamation, others by narrow margins, and still others lost.⁸³ But in the long run, the strength of the push prevailed, and when Populist executive committee members met to ratify the work of the convention, they affixed their signatures to a slate dominated by Buckley candidates.⁸⁴

Like other parties in the field, the Populists spent the month of October in vigorous campaigning. Full-column appeals for the entire People's party ticket—including Buckleyite candidates—appeared regularly in October issues of San Francisco newspapers. Anti-Charter Democrats, on the other hand, seemed strangely content to allow Populists to bear the burden of their campaign and sponsored only occasional advertisements for individual candidates. Perhaps their reticence implies a deficiency of funds, or perhaps it indicates satisfaction with merely being on the ticket and that the Buckley party was indeed a piece club. In any case, the post-convention campaign was an anti-climax for the Lambs, and previously rumored purposes for their participation in the 1896 contest evaporated quickly. Potential profits from collusion with Spreckels disappeared when Republicans ousted the sugar heir's faction from their municipal convention,⁸⁵ and possible rewards for collaborating in Cator's Senate bid proved just as illusory when the vote was counted.

After a remarkable voter turnout of 90 per cent, throngs of San Franciscans eagerly watched the *Chronicle's* election tally projected on its tower or the *Examiner's* returns on the City of Paris building.⁸⁶ Some of the results displayed

surprised no one. William McKinley won the presidential contest in the city, though only by a margin of 439 votes.⁸⁷ The proposed city charter suffered defeat, but only slightly more than half of those who voted bothered to register an opinion.⁸⁸ Interest in other municipal races, however, ran significantly higher, and virtually every winner—including Mayor-elect James D. Phelan—represented a major party or the Non-Partisan ticket with major party endorsement. School director Thomas R. Carew, the single exception and the sole victorious Buckley-Populist nominee, had the anomalous support of two anti-charter parties plus that of the Non-Partisan movement which sponsored the charter,⁸⁹ perhaps fitting commentary on the entire election as it concerned Buckley and his followers. Few of the remaining Anti-Charter hopefuls, with or without Populist sanction, polled more than 5 to 10 per cent of the votes cast. Nor did Populists running on their own.⁹⁰ The defeat hardly could have been more decisive, but it should not have been unanticipated.

The diversity of the campaign, with its multiplicity of issues, interests, and conflicts, left Buckley without opportunity to exercise effective control. The city, too, had been transformed since the Boss's arrival thirty-four years earlier from a boom town into a cosmopolitan, commercial urban center, and new conditions precipitated and demanded an altered political climate. As Buckley's Republican counterpart, Martin Kelly, later observed, 1896 was a momentous year in San Francisco politics.⁹¹ For the People's party, an important force in the city as late as 1894, strength had waned, and 1896 marked the beginning of the end, if not the end itself.⁹² In municipal government, significant adjustments were already under way. Five years earlier, the state legislature had enacted an Australian ballot law, a measure which Kelly called the "beginning of the change from the ancient order of things" for the city boss. Buckley would surely agree with that assessment.⁹³ Structural changes, however, were not all that Kelly had in mind. As well, he observed, "1896 was also fateful in introducing a new and important character into local politics," James D. Phelan, a wealthy, successful, and apparently incorruptible businessman.⁹⁵

But Phelan himself was not the whole of the fateful change. To be sure, he had been among the staunchest partisans of the defeated municipal charter, and he began organizing a renewed charter drive even before his inauguration.⁹⁶ By manipulating the rules of the political game, Phelan and his supporters did secure approval of a new, centralized, businesslike, strong-mayor charter at a special election in 1898.⁹⁷ Like Phelan, however, that new organic law only symbolized the political change. The reality involved a new mood which both the man and the document epitomized—a shift from the professional politician, the boss, to the professional man in politics—an attitude which emerged not only in San Francisco but also in cities across the nation. Some years later, a nationally-known municipal reformer expressed the new spirit most succinctly: "The city was looked upon as a commercial enterprise, and a solution of its problems was to be found through the election of business men to office" and the application of business principles to city government.⁹⁸ Not that the businessman had entirely supplanted the boss in San Francisco politics in 1896. Martin Kelly and Phil Crimmins both had close ties to Republican candidates, and Buckley's former partner, Sam Rainey, stood high in the councils of the "Junta" Democracy.⁹⁹ In-

deed, their presence precipitated rumors of a cabal of bosses manipulating the entire contest.¹⁰⁰ Nor would bossism disappear from the scene in the near future. Whether or not he was a boss in the traditional sense, Abraham Ruef already stood on the city's political horizon.¹⁰¹ Ruef, however, would adapt to new conditions and professional methods in 1901, as Kelly, Crimmins, Rainey, and even "good boss" Gavin McNab seem to have done in 1896. The Blind Boss would not—or could not—and thereby virtually assured his own defeat.

Buckley unquestionably understood the implications of changed urban conditions. His blindness, after all, did not impair his political acumen. He must have perceived the impact that repeated denunciations by his own party and a vociferously hostile press would have upon his prospects. He must also have known that although collusion with Spreckels or Cator might promise rewards in the form of power, patronage, or even plunder, without victory the promise was empty indeed. Finally, Buckley must have been acutely aware that San Francisco in 1896 was not what it had been in the 1880's and that formidable odds confronted him. Still, the Blind Boss chose not only to enter the race but also to continue in it despite adversity, opposition, and mounting evidence of impending disaster. His persistence suggests that something less tangible than power or material gain prompted his actions. Politics and the city had given meaning to Buckley's life for more than two decades. In the era of the saloon boss the muscle of the push and the processes which scholars have called the "latent functions of the machine"¹⁰² had sufficed to perpetuate power. That in 1896 the Boss clung tenaciously to the politics and methods of the past, despite their obviously diminishing appropriateness and acceptability, implies that something quite elemental and personal impelled him to enter the race on his own terms and run it for his own ends.

Unfortunately, not much more can be said about Buckley. A set of guarded and non-committal memoirs published in the last years of his life provide only the vaguest clues to his motivations, and in them he studiously avoids the campaign of 1896. Whether lust for power and recognition, desire for excitement, ordinary nostalgia, or something even less tangible animated the Blind Boss remains largely speculative. It is clear, however, that the city and its politics had changed in ways he could not or would not adapt; for Christopher A. Buckley—and perhaps for the age of the saloon boss in San Francisco—the steam beer handicap of 1896 was indeed a last hurrah.¹⁰³

THE PORTRAIT of Buckley is from James Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915).

NOTES

1. "Reminiscences of Christopher A. Buckley," *San Francisco Bulletin*, February 4, 1919, p. 13.
2. See, for example, Michael P. Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890-1966* (Westport, Conn., 1970), Chap. 1; Robert Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1962), Chaps. 4-6; Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture* (New York, 1970), chaps. 4-5; Paul W. Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People* (New York, 1964), chaps. 1, 2, 4; J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Historian, Presidential Elections, and 1896," *Mid-America*, XLV (July, 1963), 184-192.
3. Original federal subsidies to railroads had been secured by thirty-six-year bonds at 6 per cent interest. In the 1890's, lobbyists in Washington began to press for a funding bill which would

replace original arrangements with ninety-nine-year bonds at .5 per cent interest, a proposal which became a major issue in California politics.

4. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 15, 1896, p. 14. The parties included Republican, Democratic, National Republican, Non-Partisan, Populist, Socialist, Labor-National (Gold) Democratic, Citizen's Republican, Anti-Charter Democratic (Buckley's party), Citizen's Independent (affiliated with the American Protective Association), and Prohibitionist.

5. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9.

6. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, December 28, 1918, p. 7.

7. Alexander B. Callow, Jr., "San Francisco's Blind Boss," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXV (August, 1956), pp. 261-265, 268-273, *passim*; Jeremiah Lynch, *Buckleyism: The Government of a State* (San Francisco, 1889), 8-12, 17-24; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White: A Study of Party Activities under the Convention System* (Stanford, 1927), 19, 34, 41-46, 49, 51, 61, 70, 75, 78, 80, 87-89, 97-98, 104-105, 123-126, 212-215, 233-234; R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford, 1973), 22-24, 101-108, 147-153; William A. Bullough, *Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution* (New York, 1975), 61-70; *Examiner*, July 24, 1899, p. 3; April 21, 1922, p. 1; *Bulletin*, April 21, 1922, p. 14; April 22, 1922, p. 14; April 24, 1922, p. 3; San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 21, 1922, p. 1-2, 6; April 25, 1922, p. 8.

Biographical data on the Blind Boss's early years are sketchy, and frequently erroneous. For example, most sources—including scholars, journalists, political enemies, and even obituaries—place his birth in Ireland. He was, in fact, born in New York City in 1845, shortly after the arrival of his immigrant parents. In 1862, he migrated to California with his stonemason father, John Buckley, who previously had made several unsuccessful sojourns to the gold fields. His blindness, which has been attributed to alcohol, was the result of neurological problems, and his early employment at Maguire's Opera House was as a bookkeeper rather than as a bartender. (Christopher A. Buckley, Jr., interviews held in Pebble Beach, California, August 23, September 19, and November 14, 1974).

8. Callow, "Blind Boss," 271.

9. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, p. 8.

10. *Examiner*, August 25, 1896, p. 9.

11. *Examiner*, August 25, p. 9; *Chronicle*, August 21, 1896, p. 13; August 22, 1896, p. 13. The press applied the name "Lambs" to Buckley's followers in the 1880's and revived it again in 1896.

12. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, l. 8.

13. *Examiner*, August 25, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, August 23, 1896, p. 24.

14. *Chronicle*, July 16, 1896, p. 14; July 28, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, July 22, 1896, p. 5.

15. *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 12, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 9, 1896, p. 2; September 14, 1896, p. 8.

16. *Chronicle*, September 30, 1896, p. 5; October 1, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, October 1, 1896, p. 1.

17. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 17, 1919, p. 10.

18. *Chronicle*, May 28, 1896, p. 13.

19. See, for example, Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, p. 8, and "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, September 19, 1917, p. 8.

20. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 16, 1919, p. 20.

21. *Chronicle*, March 8, 1896, p. 24. Origins of the titles "Buckley Democrats" and "Occidental Club" Democrats are quite obvious. "Buckley's Business Men" is apparently a derogatory reference to early organizational efforts (October-November, 1895) when Buckley attempted to recapture the Democratic party in San Francisco. Its first specific use is in *Examiner*, November 23, 1895, p. 9, and the press used it freely after that date. There is no evidence that Buckley or his followers applied it to themselves. See below, fn. 24.

22. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, February 3, 1919, p. 7.

23. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, October 3, 1917, p. 8; Callow, "Blind Boss," 278.

24. *Chronicle*, March 8, 1896, p. 24; Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 8, 1919, p. 10; January 7, 1919, p. 11. Buckley's organizational efforts actually began as early as October, 1895, with an unsuccessful attempt to regain control over the Democratic general committee in the city, an attempt thwarted by Gavin McNab and the emerging "Junta" Democracy. See especially *Examiner*, October 2, 1895, p. 3; October 3, 1895, p. 8; October 7, 1895, p. 8; November 17, 1895, p. 2; November 23, 1895, p. 9.

25. *Examiner*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; September 11, 1896, p. 9.
26. *Examiner*, May 13, 1896, p. 9.
27. *Examiner*, September 5, 1896, p. 6. Among the new leadership were ex-Supervisor Fleet F. Strother, Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond, former Assessor James C. Nealon, former Superior Court Judge Robert Ferral, as well as attorneys Reel B. Terry and Joe Rothschild, railway speculator Behrend Joost, insurance agent Godfrey Fisher, dairyman Joseph Fassler, Drs. James I. Stanton, Thomas B. Bodkin and David B. Todd, hotelman William Fahey, and numerous semi-professionals and businessmen.
28. *Chronicle*, March 9, 1896, p. 10; *Examiner*, March 11, 1896, p. 8.
29. *Examiner*, March 13, 1896, p. 9; March 14, 1896, p. 8; March 15, 1896, p. 11.
30. *Examiner*, March 23, 1896, p. 4; *Chronicle*, March 24, 1896, p. 11; *Bulletin*, May 15, 1896, p. 2.
31. *Examiner*, April 19, 1896, p. 12; April 30, 1896, p. 9; *Bulletin*, May 9, 1896, p. 2.
32. *Examiner*, May 13, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, May 13, 1896, p. 10.
33. *Examiner*, May 17, 1896, p. 4; May 19, 1896, p. 16; May 29, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, June 10, 1896, p. 14; *San Francisco Call*, May 13, 1896, p. 3.
34. *Chronicle*, May 28, 1896, p. 13; *Bulletin*, May 15, 1896, p. 2.
35. *Examiner*, May 29, 1896, p. 8.
36. *Chronicle*, May 29, 1896, p. 9.
37. *Examiner*, May 19, 1896, p. 16; *Chronicle*, May 29, 1896, p. 9; June 1, 1896, p. 12; *Bulletin*, May 9, 1896, p. 2; May 29, 1896, p. 2; June 5, 1896, p. 6; June 10, 1896, p. 6.
38. *Examiner*, June 3, 1896, p. 5; *Chronicle*, June 4, 1896, p. 14.
39. *Chronicle*, June 6, 1896, p. 8; June 11, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, June 8, 1896, p. 5.
40. *Chronicle*, June 6, 1896, p. 8; June 11, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, June 8, 1896, p. 5.
41. *Chronicle*, June 17, 1896, pp. 11-12; *Bulletin*, June 15, 1896, pp. 1, 3; June 16, 1896, p. 1.
42. *Chronicle*, June 18, 1896, p. 11; *Examiner*, June 17, 1896, 2; *Bulletin*, June 17, 1896, p. 1.
43. *Chronicle*, June 21, 1896, p. 32.
44. *Chronicle*, June 24, 1896, p. 13; *Examiner*, June 24, 1896, p. 8.
45. *Chronicle*, July 12, 1896, p. 26.
46. *Chronicle*, July 15, 1896, p. 12; *Examiner*, July 14, 1896, p. 3; *Bulletin*, July 16, 1896, p. 3. San Francisco representatives included McNab, James D. Phelan, A. A. Watkins, Eugene Deuprey, W. P. Sullivan, Max Popper, and Marion Biggs.
47. *Chronicle*, July 16, 1896, p. 13; July 17, 1896, p. 9; July 23, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, July 23, 1896, p. 9; *Bulletin*, July 16, 1896, p. 1; July 17, 1896, p. 3; July 18, 1896, p. 2.
48. *Chronicle*, July 24, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, July 30, 1896, p. 1.
49. *Chronicle*, July 29, 1896, p. 12; *Examiner*, July 22, 1896, p. 5; August 4, 1896, p. 5.
50. *Chronicle*, July 29, 1896, p. 8; August 25, 1896, p. 13.
51. *Ibid.* Each of eighteen city assembly districts chose twenty-three convention delegates; two more for each district were selected at large.
52. *Chronicle*, August 4, 1896, p. 8; August 21, 1896, p. 13; *Examiner*, August 4, 1896, p. 5.
53. *Examiner*, September 2, 1896, p. 5.
54. *Examiner*, September 4, 1896, p. 7. Buckley himself favored Charles W. Pope of North Beach district.
55. *Ibid.*; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 4, 1896, p. 1.
56. *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32; *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8. There were rumors that the fight had been staged.
57. *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8. The Buckley platform avowed support for state and national Democratic platforms and candidates, denounced rival local Democratic factions, and outlined its stand on municipal issues: for reduced municipal expenditures and fiscal responsibility, reduced utility rates, efficient public schools, improved streets, and bicycles as baggage; against the American Protective Association and its local campaign to issue teaching certificates only to those educated in California public schools. See *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8; September 12, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32.
58. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9.
59. Dimond's single apparent claim to political fame was his sponsorship of an ordinance limiting unfair transfer policies of the Market Street Railway Company. He was not, however, among

the "solid seven" supervisors under indictment for franchise graft during the campaign. See *Examiner*, May 20, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, May 26, 1896, p. 9; May 27, 1896, p. 7; September 6, 1896, p. 32; *Bulletin*, May 26, 1896, p. 11; July 24, 1896, p. 1; September 5, 1896, p. 5.

60. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 11, 1896, p. 8; *Bulletin*, September 14, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 5.

61. *Examiner*, September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 7. The Regular Democrats nominated a full slate of municipal and county candidates, fifty-one in all. For individual nominees, see *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8; September 11, 1896, p. 9; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 7; October 6, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 32.

62. *Examiner*, September 17, 1896, p. 14; *Bulletin*, August 26, 1896, p. 7.

63. The Consolidation Act of 1856 (the Hawes Act), made the city and county of San Francisco coterminous and combined numerous offices: district attorney, public administrator, sheriff, county clerk, recorder, coroner, assessor, and superintendent of schools. The last named was exempted from the court decision in 1896.

64. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 8; *Bulletin*, September 16, 1896, p. 3.

65. *Examiner*, September 26, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, September 17, 1896, p. 7; September 26, 1896, p. 11; *Bulletin*, September 17, 1896, p. 5.

66. *Examiner*, Oct. 10, 1896, pp. 6, 16; *McDonald vs. Hinton*, *Pacific Reporter*, XLVI (1896), 870-872.

67. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 6.

68. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 20.

69. *Examiner*, October 13, 1896, p. 14; October 15, 1896, p. 14; October 17, 1896, p. 16.

70. *Examiner*, April 26, 1896, p. 9; May 11, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, May 12, 1896, p. 9; May 14, 1896, p. 1; *Bulletin*, May 11, 1896, p. 8; May 12, 1896, p. 1; May 13, 1896, p. 1. See also Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California, 1889-1900" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952).

71. *Examiner*, August 2, 1896, p. 2; September 6, 1896, p. 12; *Chronicle*, August 22, 1896, p. 13.

72. *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 9; October 9, 1896, p. 16; *Bulletin*, September 2, 1896, p. 2; September 17, 1896, p. 1; *Chronicle*, September 17, 1896, p. 1.

73. *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32; September 7, 1896, p. 7; September 12, 1896, p. 7; *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 7. For Cator and his career, see Harold E. Taggart, "Thomas Vincent Cator," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (December 1958), 311-318 and XXVIII (March 1949), 47-55.

74. *Examiner*, September 19, 1896, p. 5; September 25, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14.

75. *Examiner*, September 29, 1896, pp. 6, 7.

76. *Examiner*, October 1, 1896, pp. 1-2; October 2, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14; September 29, 1896, p. 11; September 30, 1896, p. 5; *Bulletin*, October 1, 1896, p. 5.

77. *Chronicle*, September 22, 1896, p. 8; September 25, 1896, p. 14; *Bulletin*, September 22, 1896, p. 3.

78. *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14; *Examiner*, September 25, 1896, p. 7. The Populist platform included proposals for total reform of the political and economic systems, municipal ownership of utilities, direct legislation, removal of fire and police departments from politics, reform of the city hall janitorial service, reduced utility rates, enforcement of street railway maintenance, improved prison hospital services, an almshouse, improved street lighting, municipal action to alleviate unemployment, and the circulation of dollar-bonds as municipal currency, as well as support for state and national platforms and candidates.

79. *Examiner*, September 29, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 29, 1896, p. 11.

80. *Examiner*, October 2, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, October 2, 1896, p. 5; *Bulletin*, October 2, 1896, p. 5.

81. *Ibid.*; Walters, "Populism in California," 195-198; William C. Jones, "The Kaweah Experiment in Co-operation," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, VI (October 1891), 47-75. Haskell had long been associated with radical causes, including the ill-fated Kaweah community in present Sequoia Park.

82. *Examiner*, September 30, 1896, p. 5; October 1, 1896, p. 1; October 5, 1896, p. 6; *Chronicle*,

September 30, 1896, p. 5; October 1, 1896, p. 8; October 2, 1896, p. 5. Offices for which Populist and Anti-Charter Democrat candidates were identical included the mayor, three of four superior court judges, two of five justices of the peace, two of four police court judges, eight of twelve supervisors, seven of twelve school directors, district attorney, tax collector, auditor, recorder, public administrator, and superintendent of streets. In addition, several Populist nominees who did not appear on the Anti-Charter ticket, including C. W. Pope, had close ties to Buckley. Several original nominees later declined to run and were replaced by common candidates. See *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18.

83. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18.

84. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18; October 15, 1896, p. 8.

85. *Examiner*, September 23, 1896, p. 1; September 24, 1896, p. 1; *Bulletin*, September 25, 1896, p. 6.

86. *Examiner*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; *Chronicle*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; November 5, 1896, p. 9; November 6, 1896, p. 10; November 7, 1896, p. 10. Out of 72,359 registered voters, 65,178 cast votes.

87. *Examiner*, November 5, 1896, p. 2.

88. *Chronicle*, November 6, 1896, p. 9. Ticket splitting seems to indicate that San Francisco was an exception to the solidly Republican "System of 1896" which Rogin and Shover postulate for the state. See Rogin and Shover, *Political Change*, 2.

89. *Chronicle*, November 5, 1896, p. 9; *Examiner*, November 5, 1896, p. 7; November 6, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, November 5, 1896, pp. 1-2. Though a quantitative analysis of precinct records to establish areas of Buckley-Populist strength would be valuable, the San Francisco registrar of voters reports that all election records were destroyed in 1906.

90. *Ibid.*

91. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, November 9, 1917, p. 11.

92. Rogin and Shover, *Political Change*, 16-24; Walters, "Populism in California," 245-266. See also Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (1965), 421-438; Harold F. Taggart, "The Party Realignment of 1896 in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, VIII (1939), 435-452.

93. Eric F. Peterson, "The Struggle for the Australian Ballot in California," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Fall 1972), 227-242; "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, October 3, 1917, p. 8; Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, February 5, 1914, p. 2. The Australian ballot law would be followed in 1901 by the intermediate primary law and in 1909 by the direct primary and abolition of municipal nominating conventions.

94. *Examiner*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; November 4, 1896, p. 18.

95. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, November 9, 1917, p. 11.

96. *Examiner*, November 7, 1896, p. 16; November 8, 1896, p. 11.

97. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, September 26, 1917, p. 18.

98. Frederic C. Howe, *The City, The Hope of Democracy* (New York, 1906), 46.

99. *Examiner*, September 16, 1896, pp. 1, 9; September 17, 1896, p. 7; September 29, 1896, p. 1; October 1, 1896, p. 1; October 11, 1896, p. 20; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 16, 1896, p. 2.

100. *Examiner*, October 18, 1896, p. 1; October 20, 1896, p. 5.

101. James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Spring 1972), 3-16; Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley, 1952).

102. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, 1957), 70-81; Eric L. McKittrick, "The Study of Corruption," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII (December 1957), 502-514. Merton suggests that the "latent functions of the machine" involved services to four urban sub-groups: various deprived classes, legitimate businesses, the underworld, and those to whom normal avenues of mobility were closed. For Buckley's activities along these lines in the 1880's, see Callow, "Blind Boss," 264-271, and Buckley, "Reminiscences," *passim*.

103. Buckley made one more rather half-hearted comeback attempt; see *Examiner*, July 24, 1899, p. 3. Buckley's memoirs are serialized in the *Bulletin*, December 23, 1918 to February 5, 1919. He died on April 20, 1922; see obituaries in *Chronicle*, April 21, 1922, pp. 1-2, and *Examiner*, April 21, 1922, p. 1.

R.D. Ginther, Workingman Artist and Historian of Skid Row

RONALD DEBS GINTHER WAS A WOBBLY, a member of the radical labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World. He was born the year after the militant "One Big Union" movement was founded in Chicago in 1905 and, although a cook by trade and an officer of the Seattle Cooks and Waiters Union, his empathy and energy went into organizing the casual and unemployed laborers who haunted Seattle's waterfront district and Wobbly halls.

Sometime during the middle of the Great Depression—having completed two art courses by correspondence—Ginther began retiring to his basement where he took up brush and pen. Here he recorded the events he had witnessed in the late 1920's and early 1930's which seared in his memory and demanded to be recorded. Mounting each of his 14 x 15 inch water colors on a cardboard backing and typing his own detailed captions, he told his wife, "I think I'm onto something."

Indeed he was. Using bold colors, a primitive style, and harsh personal experiences as inspiration, Ginther painted eighty-five cartoon-like scenes of labor unrest and Skid Road misery on the Pacific Coast—powerful images of the human fodder and refuse, he believed, of American capitalism run amuck.

Two years before Ginther's death in 1969 the Washington State Historical Society acquired the extraordinary paintings through a donation by Dr. and Mrs. J. S. Holliday. A selection was shown at the San Francisco Museum of Art in early 1975, and a full exhibition is on display at the California Historical Society headquarters in San Francisco until mid-October in conjunction with other art works and programs about working people. Unique in its depiction of common, if brutal, scenes that only a few individuals such as photographer Dorothea Lange believed important to document, the Ginther exhibit is scheduled to travel throughout the United States as an unusual collection of workers' art and an historical record of economically inflicted suffering, violence, and despair in an era more pleasantly remembered for Busby Berkeley musical extravaganzas.

Spanning the late 1920's and early 1930's in subject, Ginther's works focus on two themes: the depression and Skid Road. Some of the former depict images of unemployment lines, Hoovervilles, strikes, and violent labor-police confrontations. Others show less familiar events such as political agitators detained on open sentences in jail holding tanks; unemployed people looting food markets and waiting for strong winds to blow plate glass windows out of a bakery; bindle stiffs hopping freight trains and cooking Mulligan stew from stolen vegetables; ragged veterans assembling for the National Bonus March on Washington, D.C., in 1932; and longshoremen and seamen marching in a silent parade commemorating the Bloody Thursday of the 1934 waterfront strike.

More than half of Ginther's documentary drawings, however, focus on Seattle's Skid Road, the original one on Yesler Way—although the scenes were re-

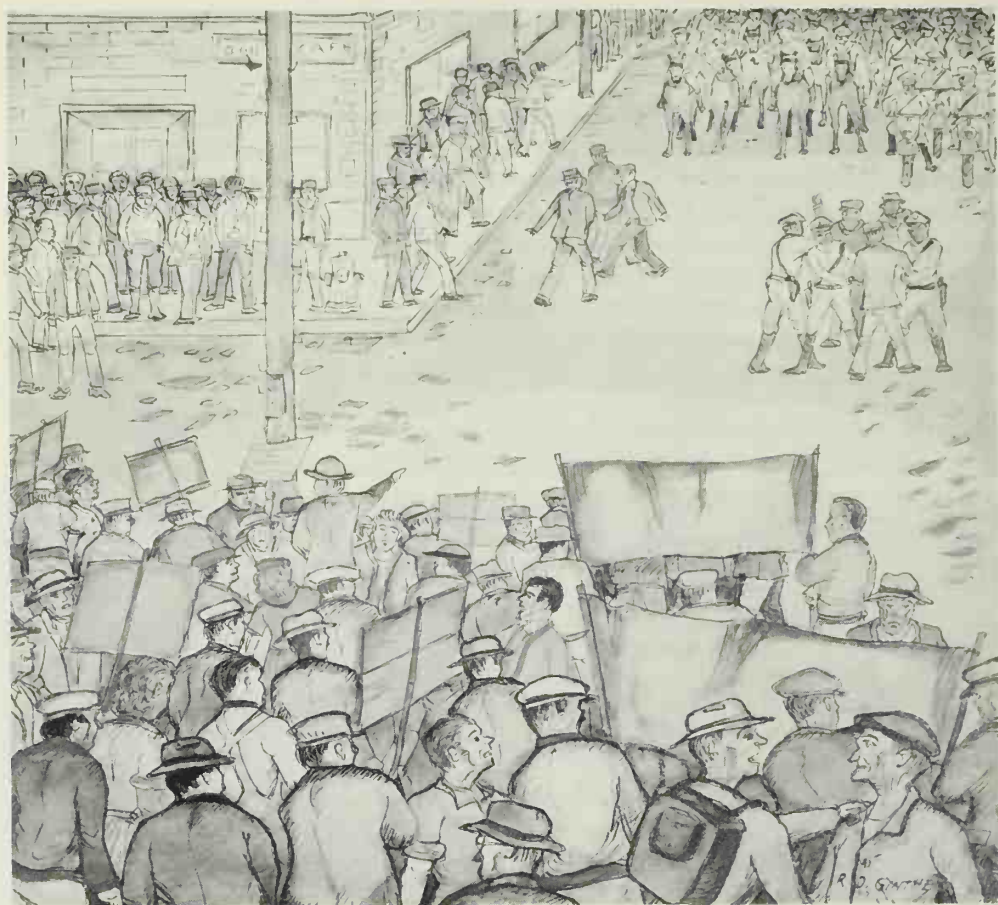
peated on Portland's Burnside Street, San Francisco's Third and Mission, and in every city across the country. Skid Road is the end of the survival line, and Ginther was perhaps obsessed by it as an image of what he would call the contradictions of capitalism. Here, in the depression, men who normally supported themselves as migratory casual laborers—men who comprised a work force essential to seasonal and casual industries such as fishing, lumbering, seafaring, fruit growing, construction, and agriculture—found themselves with no exit. Here, also, collected the wounded men and women whose only worldly refuges were flop houses, Salvation Army shelters, and soup kitchens. Unflinchingly, sparing no detail, Ginther consciously recorded for history scenes from this world: homeless men searching for bed bugs in 20¢-a-night flophouses; frequenters at dimly lit 10¢-a-dance recreation halls; "dehorns" sprawled on a "mountain of death," seven years' accumulated sterno cans, under the Yolo Causeway across the river from Sacramento, rotting their guts for a few hours' oblivion; a "snowbird" (dope addict) slashing his wrists in a crowded jail "time" tank; women stuffing edible garbage from street corner cans into baby buggies; and "rugged individualists," as Ginther called them, scavenging for food in a city dump. With similar Wobbly skepticism about government promises and "pie-in-the-sky" solutions, he sketched two "Christs returning to earth" meeting accidentally on Skid Road and hoboes salivating while Salvation Army "sky pilots," as Wallace Stegner described them in a recent article on Ginther in *Esquire* magazine, passed out "angel food" before distributing coffee and doughnuts. Significantly, many of these latter scenes were witnessed by Ginther before 1929—before the full impact of the economic crisis which carried millions of people of marginal existence over the financial brink.

While a few of Ginther's paintings show optimism about labor solidarity—witness a scene of a 1933 hunger march on Olympia in which marchers were handed food from sympathetic farmers—the Wobbly artist's vision, particularly in his Skid Road scenes, more often reflects despair over the fate of the lower economic classes. Unlike socialist realism art of worker states which features brawny men and women with eyes stoically glued to the future, Ginther's people are undernourished, shivering from the cold, and suffering, with little chance of winning their struggle and usually on the wrong end of the policeman's club. Perhaps unfathomable to Ginther, not even the widespread disaster of the depression revived the Industrial Workers of the World with its goal of radical alteration of both the capitalist wage system and the parasitic employer-worker relationship. While the I.W.W. managed strike activity in 1923 at San Pedro among maritime workers, in 1926 among Colorado soft coal miners, and in 1933 among the hops picker in Washington's Yakima (to which Ginther alluded in one picture), by the late 1920's the I.W.W., whose membership peaked in 1912 with 100,000 workers, had nearly been crushed by wartime patriotism purges, mass trials and mailings of Wobbly leaders, police and citizen violence, anti-syndicalism laws, and restrictions on immigration. Its One Big Union for all workers idea was edged out by the C.I.O., formed in 1935 in a split from the A.F.L., which adopted the industrial-union principle of the I.W.W. but contemptuously ignored migratory, seasonal, and casual laborers and never reached down to assist the "unemployable" classes, mainly single men, shut out of the American Dream.

Ginther's paintings of the West Coast are a testament to that shut-out, the angry vision of an unreconstructed radical whose view from Wobbly headquarters in the heart of Skid Road assured him that a chicken in every pot was propaganda fantasy. "Some people say I overdone them," Ginther reflected before his death, "but it was worse than my pictures depict. These sketches are not *near* the truth." As Wallace Stegner has observed, if Skid Road ever had an historian, it was the self-taught workingman artist, Ronald Debs Ginther.

Under the tracks of Portland's Hooverville, Ginther painted Unemployed Council organizers in 1931 passing out leaflets to help mobilize the legions of jobless.







With the eye of a journalist, Ginther painted three sketches of the events of May 1, 1930, when an attempt to parade by the unemployed on Seattle's Skid Road (top left) erupted in bloody police-civilian violence (bottom left), resulting in the imprisonment of leaders in the jail's "time tank" (above).

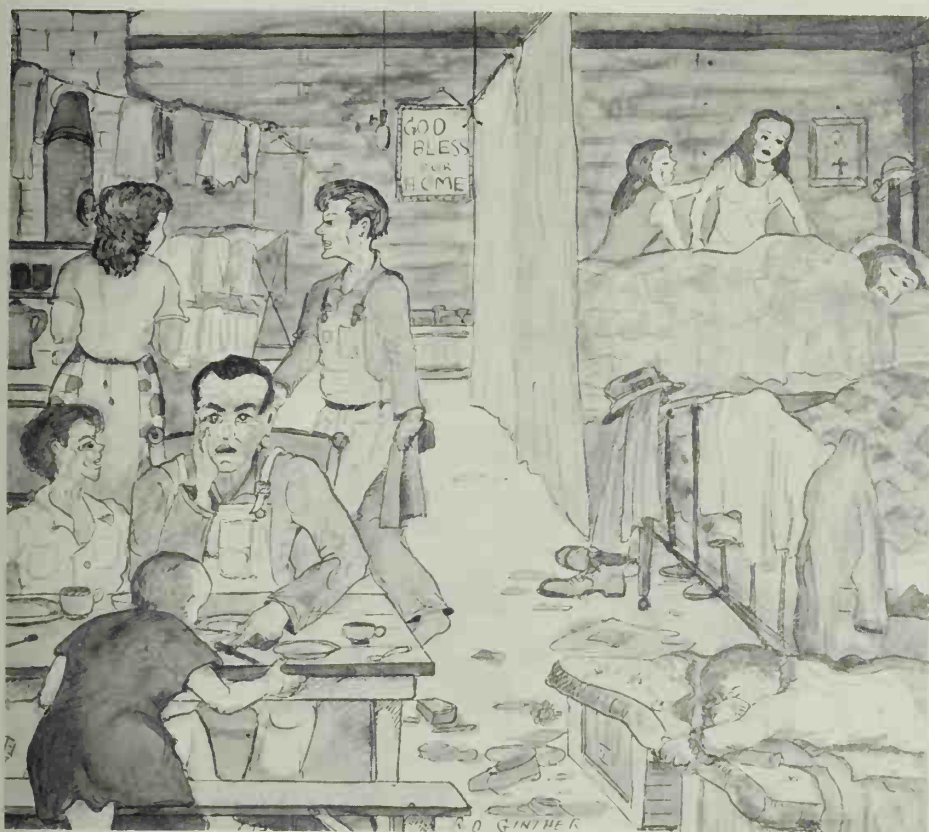
Men made homeless by the evaporation of steady employment during the depression slept along a river in Oregon's Willamette Valley awaiting the beginning of hop-picking season.





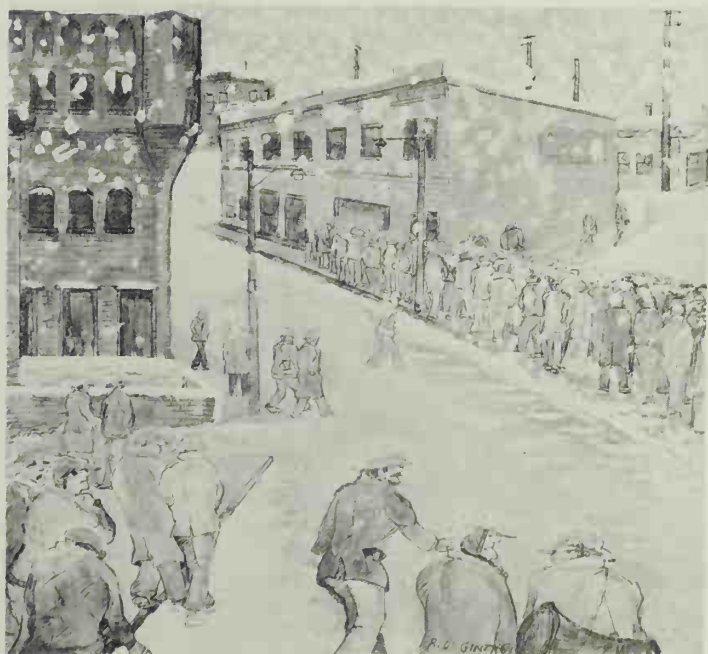
On Seattle's Skid Road, Ginter saw hungry men wait out religious services to receive free doughnuts (left) and old women rummage through garbage cans for food, while "dehorns" slowly killed themselves drinking de-natured alcohol (below).





In Klamath Falls, Oregon, the "lumber capital of the world," Ginther visited an unemployed lumber worker and his family of ten who lived in a one-room shack (above).

During the hard winter of 1934-35, one of Seattle's breadlines on Western Avenue grew to enormous length (right).



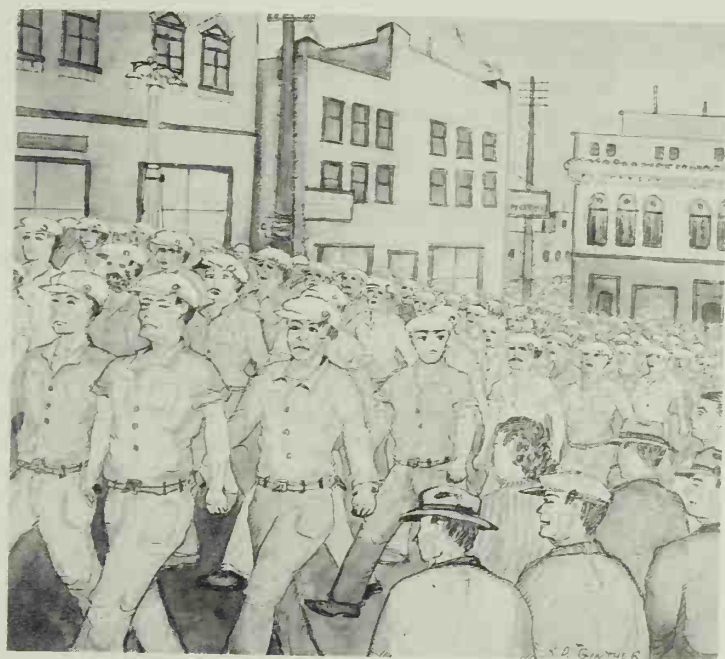


Sympathetic (if skeptical) about attempts to convince the government of the needs of its citizens, Ginther sketched unemployed and World War I veterans beginning their Bonus March to Washington, D.C., in Portland in 1932 (above).



In Ginther's scene of the hunger march on Olympia, he depicts sympathetic Tacoma farmers bringing in supplies along the line of march (left).

Longshoremen and seamen
march in silent parade on
the anniversary of the
bloody 1934 waterfront strike
in one of Ginther's rare
drawings showing labor
solidarity and strength
(right).



With irony Ginther entitled
this scene of the burning of
Seattle's Shacketown in 1936,
"The Great Depression
Tapering Off" (below).
Anacostia, the Hooverville
in the nation's capital, was
similarly burned and its
residents driven out under
the direction of General
George McArthur.



REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

California History Resources: The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History

HARRY KELSEY, *chief curator of history at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*

The historical collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History contain archival holdings of particular interest to California historians. Many of these materials document or otherwise enhance the three-dimensional objects in the general history collection of the Museum. Others came to the Museum as parts of larger donations, as for example the artifacts and memorabilia gathered over the years by the Historical Society of Southern California and presented to the Museum.

The photographic collection is the largest single holding in the history archives. There are more—many more—than 100,000 photographs in the collection, including tintypes, ambrotypes, daguerreotypes, and most other types of positive and negative photographic images. Much of the collection is unorganized, and some of the organized portions exist only in negative (usually glass plate) form. However, a large General Photograph Collection of about 9,000 items, with a cross-referenced card index, covers extensively Southern California and other parts of the Southwest. Some of the important glass plate negative collections are the work of F. H. Maude, the Putnam-Valentine studio, and C. C. Pierce.



This classic photo of a goldminer in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River, taken by George W. James in 1898, has frequently been incorrectly identified as a scene from the California gold rush.

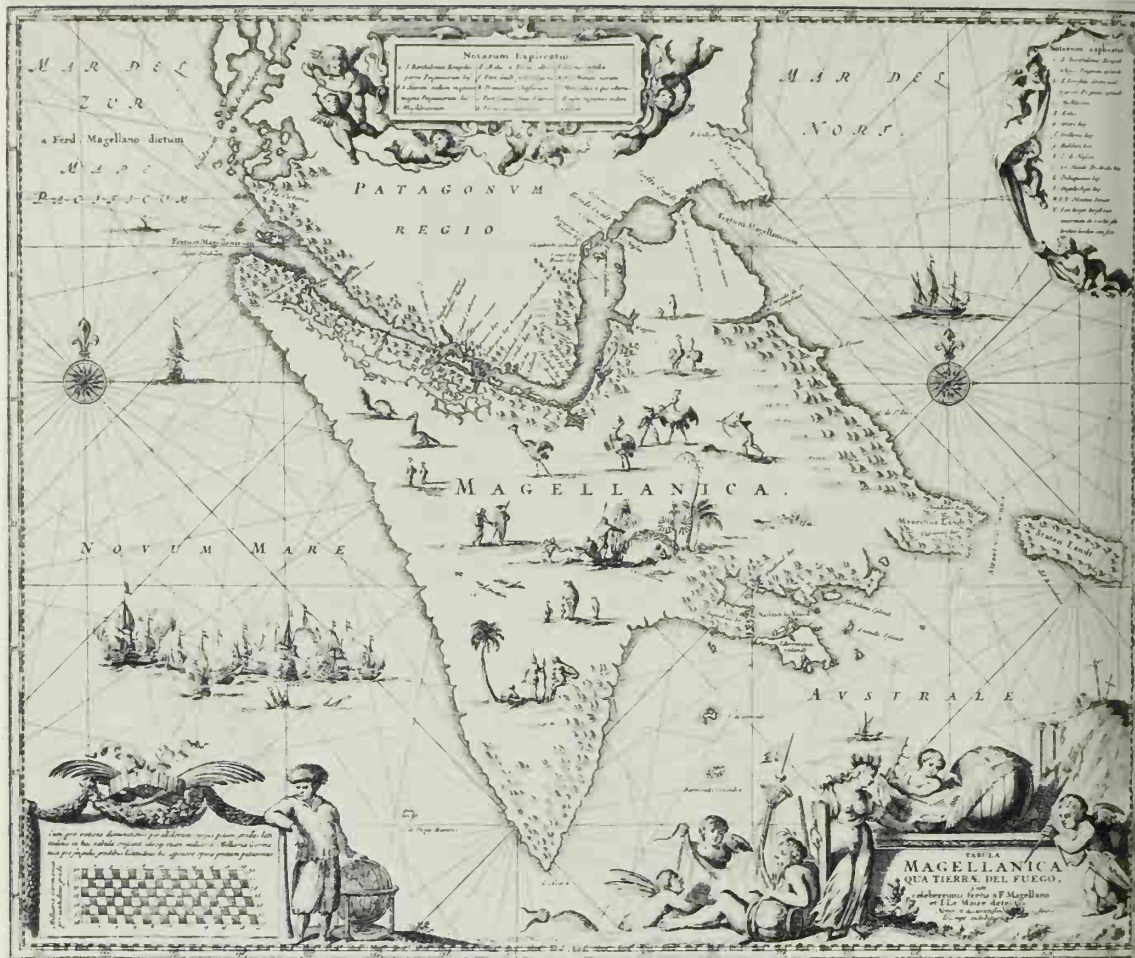
A few other special photograph collections are also of interest. Perhaps the most popular these days is the Vroman Collection, which includes a number of interesting photographs of Hopi villages taken on several photographic expeditions at the turn of the century. The provenance for this collection is doubtful, and it appears probable that some of the pictures were made by Vroman's close associates. Nonetheless, the bulk of the collection is undoubtedly the work of Adam Clark Vroman, and it provides an extremely detailed pictorial record of life in the Hopi pueblos.

Every photographic library has at least one popular picture which the public seems to love and the staff grows to dislike intensely. In this category at the Museum is a photograph of an old miner panning gold. The man in the picture is commonly said to be a Forty-niner, and though he looks like one, he was probably only a babe when the California gold rush began. Although the photo has been used over and over again to illustrate books, magazine articles, and museum exhibits (even one of our own!) about the California gold rush, let it be said here and now that the photograph was taken in 1898 by George Wharton James in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River.¹

The history archives also has several hundred prints, city views, and birdseye views,

Artists are well represented in the museum's graphics collection. This 1917 recruiting poster is the work of Howard Chandler Christy.





Included in the museum's
over 2,500 maps is Ogilby's
handsome map of Magel-
lanica (South America)
from the Shearman
Collection (above).

*Suplicamos á V. tenga á bien asistir á las
tres de la tarde de hoy al entierro del cuerpo
de Don Perfecto Hugo Reid, (Q. E. P. D.) ;
y así mismo mañana á las nueve, concurrir
á la Iglesia de esta ciudad, á las exequias que
se le deberán hacer.*

*La comitiva saldrá esta tarde de la casa de
Don Enrique Dalton.*

H. DALTON,	{	Compa- dres.
ABEL STEARNS,		
A. OLVERA,		
B. D. WILSON,	{	Ami- gos.
JULIAN WORKMAN,		
D. W. ALEXANDER,		
JOHN A. LEWIS,		
J. B. WILSON,		
WM. H. RAND,		

Angeles, Diciembre 14 de 1852.

* Early Angeleno Hugo Reid's
funeral announcement (left)
is among many in the
museum's manuscript
collection.

as well as a few of the illustrated lettersheets that were popular in California during the fifties and sixties. One particularly interesting series of views came to the museum with the collection of Antonio F. Coronel. This is a group of colored lithographs by Carlos Nebel² and others, with accompanying text, illustrating daily life in Mexico before 1840. This material, along with the rare books and the newspaper collection, is located in the museum reference library. Before too many months pass, all of the archival and library material pertaining to California and the Southwest will hopefully be organized into a single special research collection.

The graphic work of such artists as James Montgomery Flagg, Howard Chandler Christy, Adolph Treidler, and Norman Rockwell is represented in our collection of about 3,000 posters. Most of these are Red Cross, war relief, or recruiting posters, but there are a number of general political posters, movie advertisements, and other similar pictures.

The museum's collection of printed maps runs to about 2,500 sheets and is most useful for the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, particularly the Pacific Coast of North America. The largest single addition to the map collection came from Warren C. Shearman, whose collection was acquired by the museum in the 1960's. Most of the Shearman maps are mounted on large boards, with accompanying explanatory text and contemporary illustrations by noted writers and artists.

The small manuscript collection (about 10,000 items) includes William B. Ide's Bear Flag Letter, Hugo Reid's manuscripts on California Indians, and a beautiful example of calligraphy in the hand of Agustín Zamorano, the early California printer. The manuscript collection is only partly organized and indexed, and in addition it includes some interesting items that are not properly manuscripts. An example of this category is a series of 1850-1870 printed funeral announcements (from the Coronel collection and the Del Valle collection) which were distributed to friends and relatives of the deceased on the day of death and intended to serve as an invitation to the funeral (and doubtless to the other accompanying festivities). Also in the Del Valle and Coronel collections are a number of prints, pamphlets, and broadsides on various subjects. Most of these items relate in one way or another to the history of Southern California.

A number of the manuscripts have little or nothing to do with the history of California but nevertheless are of great interest for exhibit purposes. Perhaps the best example of this sort of material is the Abraham Lincoln collection, which includes several original Lincoln letters, as well as a number of objects that once belonged to Lincoln or his wife Mary. There are also a number of real estate maps of the Los Angeles region in the 1880's, plus an interesting collection of oil company road maps documenting a half-century period of modern highway travel.

Our reference file of notes and clippings is based on two collections, one started by Owen C. Coy, history professor for many years at the University of Southern California and director of the California State Historical Association, and the other by Dwight Franklin, an arms collector and exhibit designer who did pioneering work with miniature dioramas. The Coy collection contains an extensive and well organized selection of clippings on the history of various California counties. The Franklin collection contains notes and pictures about costumes and implements used during selected periods of American history. There is also a collection of scrapbooks on California subjects, clipped and organized by Mrs. M. R. Krythe.

One interesting and often overlooked picture collection is a group of about 12,000 color postcard views of California. Four thousand of these cards depict the Los Angeles area alone.

The museum's history collection is not operated as a public reference library. Nonetheless, the Museum of Natural History is anxious to have its research materials used by qualified persons with as few restrictions as possible consistent with good curatorial

practices and the needs of the scholarly professions. For this reason, qualified persons with legitimate research interests are allowed access to the archival collections. Research days are Wednesday and Thursday, from 1:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M., except holidays. Advance appointments are necessary.

NOTES

1. George Wharton James, *In and Around the Grand Canyon*, 233 (Boston, 1913).
2. Don Carlos Nebel, *Viaje Pintoresco y Arqueológico sobre la Parte Mas Interesante de la República Mejicana en los Años Transcurridos desde 1829 hasta 1834* (Paris y Mexico, 1840).



12,000 picture postcards such as these depicting Long Beach bathing beauties (left) and lunch time at the Los Angeles Alligator Farm (below) document California popular culture.



LONG BEACH BATHING BEAUTIES, CALIFORNIA ALLIGATOR FARM, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Book Reviews

SAN FRANCISCO, 1846-1856: FROM HAMLET TO CITY. By Roger W. Lotchin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. xxii, 406 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by PETER R. DECKER, *assistant professor of policy sciences and history at Duke University who has just completed a book on social mobility in San Francisco, 1850-1880.*

The appearance of this exciting history of San Francisco's crucial decade of development is important for two reasons. It is, first of all, the most thorough and accurate study we have of early San Francisco. Of equal importance, Professor Lotchin's scholarly book is one of the very few urban histories published in the last ten years which focuses upon a city of the trans-Mississippi West.

The study, imaginative in its topical scope, opens with a discussion of Yerba Buena's Spanish origins, progresses through the height of the gold rush and closes at a time when San Francisco had emerged as the "Great Commercial Emporium of the Pacific." No American city, with the exception of Chicago, had grown so fast in so short a time. The result was chaos throughout the economic, political, and social life of this "instant" urban center during the 1846-1856 decade. Constant fires devastated the hastily constructed wood and canvas shelters which served as residences or business establishments. Temporary periods of economic prosperity were constantly interrupted by longer spans of severe recessions, the inevitable result of a totally irrational business environment. Few problems in such a rapidly growing city could be forecast so that solutions to the numerous disasters which struck the infant metropolis were usually available only after the fact. Besides, as Lotchin suggests, the rate of San Francisco's growth virtually defied a more orderly solution to her urban problems (crime, political organization, municipal income and services), problems which older communities solved more peacefully and efficiently since they possessed both the luxury of time and a higher degree of social cohesiveness.

Lotchin is at his best when he details the city's ethnic and religious diversity, her residential and commercial neighborhoods, and the multitude of voluntary associations which provided San Francisco with necessary social services. The fire and militia companies, churches, and immigrant societies also served as the social cement for the 50,000 new residents who, by 1856, had sought their instant fortunes in this "uprooted" metropolis.

The minor omissions in this superbly researched and gracefully written history are those of emphasis rather than scope. Lotchin discusses the reasons why thousands of native and foreign born migrated to the Bay City in the early 1850's, but he pays little attention to the equally important question as to why so many of the in-migrants failed to take up permanent residence in the city. He fails to comprehend the full significance of the 1856 Vigilance Committee (*e.g.* how the beleaguered business community utilized the intimidating power of the Committee and its political legacy, the People's Party, to stabilize and hence preserve their high status in the city). Nor does Lotchin adequately relate "the urbanizing influences in San Francisco . . . to the experiences of urbanization in other parts of the country," as suggested by the misleading statement on the dust jacket. Finally, the inclusion of a detailed street map would have assisted the reader to better negotiate the city's interesting social geography so well delineated by the author.

Aside from these minor caveats, Professor Lotchin's excellent book deserves the wide and careful attention of those interested in the early history of San Francisco.

POWER IN THE CITY: DECISION MAKING IN SAN FRANCISCO. By Frederick M. Wirt. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 431 pp. Tables, maps, appendices. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by ALLAN B. JACOBS, *former Director of Planning for the City of San Francisco and currently professor of city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley.*

It does not appear as though Mr. Wirt had much fun writing about San Francisco's government. The book reads as though he started with a detailed, preconceived idea of what should be in a comprehensive study of local government and decision-making together with a draft of findings and conclusions. He has found out a good deal about San Francisco and passes the knowledge on to the reader, but there are few new insights into the dynamics of San Francisco government, the conclusions do not always follow from the material presented, and he seems to have missed or failed to follow-up on the essence of the place—the kind of knowledge, understanding, and good humor that can come with hours and days of observing public hearings, watching the bureaucracy at work, attending neighborhood meetings, and just experiencing. Further, in trying to be comprehensive, the author has covered too little in deserving depth. Nor can this review cover more than the highlights of what is included and what is left out.

As might be expected, the book contains a short history of the city and its people, an accounting of the "arrived" (Irish, Italian) and "arriving" (Black, Chicano) ethnic groups and their changing roles in government, and a discussion of San Francisco's power structure, including the reasonable conclusion that there is no dominant group. It is unfortunate in these chapters, which set the stage for the nature of existing and evolving local government, that such diverse matters as the influence of the Catholic Church (rather than the ethnic groups) or the small physical size of the city are not dealt with. In observing San Francisco's non-partisan political process, Wirt says that, "... the elected are hard put to define to whom they are responsible," and he seems obsessed with the notion that government via political parties would be more responsible and accountable to the electorate. There is, of course, no evidence to indicate that this would be so in San Francisco. What "responsible" position would a political party have taken on the U.S. Steel issue? Would environmentalists be better or less well represented under a party system? More important, having observed the strength of local bureaucrats, it is unfortunate that Wirt does not pursue the idea that San Francisco really does have party politics: one political party that might be called the "Civil Service Party." Exploring that notion might have been fun. Similarly, instead of observing the cumbersome nature of the city's line item budget and the length of time and numbers of agencies involved in deciding whether or not there should be a garage under Washington Square, it might have been more productive to question the need for high levels of so-called efficiency, responsiveness, and adaptability. What have those attributes brought cities that have them? Perhaps San Francisco remains a livable, "do-able" place just because no one has had the power to give it away in a time of "crisis." In this general connection, Mr. Wirt comes to a very strange conclusion regarding the proposed 1969 charter revision. He maintains that the prospect of "... a strengthened mayor and planning department, a board of supervisors that could investigate the actions or inactions of administrators, and the elimination of independent commissions threatened the economic development that had dominated the city for the past fifteen years." Exactly the opposite would have been true. Power would have been more concentrated, and there would have been greater "responsiveness" and fewer obstacles to action.

Although the abbreviated accounts of such high-rise issues as the Transamerica and

U.S. Steel buildings and the so-called Duskin height initiative are basically correct as far as they go, there are also significant errors of fact, omissions of major influences, and questionable conclusions in the section dealing with "The Political Economy and Highrises." It is simply incorrect to say that a clear labor majority existed on the Planning Commission in 1971 (using the *Bay Guardian* as a source for any serious work is questionable to start). It is doubtful at best that the defeat of the U.S. Steel development at the waterfront was more the result of external political authorities—he notes the Bay Conservation and Development Commission—than to public opinion and responsive supervisors. Most critical, it is incomprehensible that Wirt could discuss the proposed Duskin height limitations and conclude that San Franciscans are not opposed to tall buildings without also discussing the role of the *Urban Design Plan* and the Height and Bulk Ordinance in responding to the height issue at the same time. If ever there was a case of local government being responsive to community issues and desires this was it, yet it gets no mention in the book.

By far the best part of the book deals with the external influences, especially those from Washington, on local government and local autonomy. There is an excellent, though brief, accounting of how evolving regional planning and government has been instigated as much or more by federal forces than by local actions, and Mr. Wirt observes, correctly, that local powers have, increasingly, been taken away from above, perhaps more than below, from neighborhood and ethnic groups. It is unfortunate that he did not examine the most insidious ways that the "feds" exert their will, such as by providing a large staff in the mayor's office free of charge, and thereby helping to shift the balance of power between the executive, the legislative, and the departments in favor of a beholden centrality. So does the will of the people get circumvented. Those concerned with local government will want to read and understand how local autonomy is being threatened from above.

Despite the generally negative nature of this review, the Institute of Governmental Studies in Berkeley is to be commended for sponsoring this kind of research and publication. It is no easy task to capture and understand the nature of a city and to relate such knowledge to its governmental structure, to say nothing of assessing its strengths and weaknesses. More studies of this kind are in order if we are to better understand why we govern ourselves the way we do and, knowing that, how to govern ourselves better.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS. A collection of documents from the period 1847 to 1865 in which are described some of the things that happened to some of the Indians of California. Edited by Robert F. Heizer. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974. xiii, 321 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

A MOHAVE WAR REMINISCENCE, 1854-1880. By A. L. Kroeber and C. B. Kroeber. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. Publications in Anthropology, vol. 10. x, 97 pp. Illustrations, pocket map. \$7.00.)

Reviewed by LOWELL JOHN BEAN, *chairman of the department of anthropology at California State University, Hayward.*

The history of Native Californian peoples prior to contact, as well as, but more especially, after contact with Americans has not been well documented much less synthesized for the nonspecialist. This volume edited by Robert F. Heizer goes a long way toward correcting the neglect that the Native Californian has received from historians, and while some will complain that a synthesis is what is required now, this volume is a

welcome contribution to history. Heizer allows the original writers—those who were involved with California's history, the newspaper men, the Indian agents, the citizens whose documents these are—to speak for themselves. They, better than any historian I have read, "tell it like it was." There is little opportunity for glossing over the history of "grandfather" when you are reading his very own words.

The book is divided into twelve sections, each of which contains documents covering a particular theme. Chapter One, entitled "Early Documents," shows clearly the hostile attitudes of whites toward Indians into the 1870's. Chapter Two indicates the wretched and citizenless condition of Indians after the gold rush began and the severe reduction of their food and land base which accompanied the rapid intrusion of many whites into Indian territories. Chapter Three concerns actions of volunteers and regular troops against the Indians of California. These documents show that civilian depredations against Indians were far more severe than military ones. Chapter Four concerns the early establishment of reservations and the perfunctory way in which agents often attended to their duties. Chapter Five provides documents regarding proposals for the protection of Indians and their welfare, while Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight deal with the indenturing, kidnapping, sale, scalping, and massacring of Indians by California's white pioneers. Chapter Nine concerns the effect of disease, liquor, and sexual exploitation of Indian women. Chapters Ten, Eleven, and Twelve concern the Indians and the "whites" law, the maltreatment by Indians of their fellow minority, the Chinese, and the use of Indians as the butt of white men's jokes.

All in all this is a superbly selected collection of documents which should be called to the attention of all historians of California. These documents explain not only the past but also the present attitudes that Indians have toward whites. They also speak to the obvious accusation that California historians have largely ignored the "truths" about what happened to California's native population, *e.g.*, it was not disease that decimated California Indians so much as genocidal action by California's civilian population who wanted Indians impoverished, enslaved or dead. These documents, so readily available and well-known to historians, demonstrate the existence of a conscious academic conspiracy in the past to hide the truth.

Relatedly, the Kroebers' *Mohave War Reminiscence* is a rare, fortunate example of the anthropological and historical literature information and impressions of Native California which were collected by pioneer anthropologists who enjoyed especially rich opportunities since they worked closely with Indian intellectuals who were close to their traditional past. These Native American scholars were also involved in the recent past which already eludes us, since so few anthropologists collected ethno-historical data at the time. This volume provides us with an oral narrative by one of the Mohave people's senior scholars. It was collected by one of ours (A. L. Kroeber) and is interpreted and analyzed by C. B. Kroeber—years after it was originally collected.

These oral narratives describe war, raiding, alliances, and intercultural rapprochement (enmity and amity relationships), as well as adventure, escape, and capture stories of war victims between the Mohave and their neighboring tribes—the Cocopa, Maricopa, Yavapai, Walapayi, and Chemechevis. Conflict and peace-making between American troops and raids between Mohaves and white civilian populations are also covered. Thus, a rather broadly ranging data base about warfare and conflict resolution is provided for the reader. Each tale is narrated and then a chapter of minutely detailed discussion is provided by the editors—primarily C. B. Kroeber. He asked numerous questions of the narratives themselves and attempts to answer and expand with historical documents the data provided orally by the Mohave author, Jo Nelson (Quich-nailk-Chooksa-Homar) and thereby opens up new areas of research. The historical accounts tend to follow rather closely many of the oral accounts, although several prob-

lems occur—some of them related to the inherent difficulties found in oral history accounts, others due to the absence or lack of access to information from archival resources from which a final valuable comparative analysis will hopefully be made.

Some considerable differences in interpretation of the nature and cause and effects of warfare on the Colorado River have appeared in recent years in the literature, and the reader of this volume will want to consult these to acquire different views than those presented by the Kroebers—especially the controversy concerning the ecological and socio-political implications of warfare. One point of view, that adopted by the Kroebers, tends to see warfare as a cultural sport; others tend to see Colorado River warfare as a conquest instrument by people that is related to ecologically or economically induced conditions. This volume does not address itself to that controversy directly, but it does provide much data for scholars of either persuasion to draw upon in re-evaluating their positions. The reader is referred to Jack Forbes' *Warriors on the Colorado* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965) and Chris White's paper on amity-enmity relationships on the Colorado River, which appears in *Antap*, edited by Lowell Bean and Thomas King (Ramona, California, 1974).

HISTORY OF THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA, AND SANTA FE RAILWAY. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975. 398 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by NORMAN E. TUTOROW, *former chief of the Archives Branch at the Los Angeles Federal Records Center.*

In this third volume of a projected eight-volume set entitled *Railroads of America*, Professor Bryant of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, traces more than a century of the history of the Santa Fe Railroad, beginning with its inception in 1863. This period saw the Santa Fe's passenger list grow and then decline until 1971 when passenger service was discontinued altogether. What began as the Santa Fe Railroad later became the Santa Fe Railway, following a reorganization in receivership, and still later became Santa Fe Industries, an amalgamation of enterprises in most cases only tenuously if at all related to the railroad business.

Bryant summarizes skillfully the political and military discord that culminated in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854; he sketches the life story of Colonel Cyrus K. Holiday, founder of the Santa Fe System; and he delineates in excruciating detail the Santa Fe's expansionist battles, its bouts with the federal government over federal control, and the lives and careers of all the men who at one time or another served as the railroad's president. During its era of growth, the Santa Fe vied with other carriers for the Texas cattle trade, battled the Southern Pacific for what it deemed its fair share of the California trade, and on more than one occasion came to blows with Jay Gould's Union Pacific.

This book contains the story of the Santa Fe's struggles with organized labor, its problems with federal government operation during World War I, and its fight for survival during the Great Depression. The story unfolds methodically—at times laboriously—from day to day and event to event. Social history, as well as political and financial, is detailed here. For example, the Santa Fe's colonization program is discussed in considerable detail. In a chapter entitled "Fred Harvey and His Girls," the reader learns about one of the finest hotel and restaurant accommodations in the country and of how Fred Harvey served the Santa Fe. Chapters like "Depression, War and Technological Change" and "The Coming of the Diesel" reflect the scope of the social

history surveyed, while "The Chiefs and Chico" tells of the painful death of the Santa Fe as a passenger carrier. Throughout, the author criticizes as well as praises the Santa Fe's management, but on balance he agrees with Union Pacific President Charles Francis Adams that the Santa Fe was "one of the most brilliantly successful [railroads] in the business history of the country."

Bryant's book is well-organized and easy to follow chronologically, but the detailed treatment accorded almost every aspect of Santa Fe history serves at times to make reading laborious; the book will not appeal to the general reader—nor was it intended to—but it is a must for the railroad historian. The scholar will, however, be dismayed at times by the hundreds of direct quotations that have a total of only ninety-one footnotes directing him to their sources. On the other hand, the bibliographical essay is outstanding, and the index is a useful tool, not a mere appendage. The book is otherwise brought to life by its 121 illustrations and seventeen maps.

This book does fill a void in railroad history and will prove particularly valuable to California historians and history buffs who have long seen the Santa Fe as little more than an iron interloper that from time to time invaded the territory of the Southern Pacific but which hardly deserves attention as a California railroad. The facts as presented by Bryant serve to correct this imbalanced perspective.

CALIFORNIA THROUGH FIVE CENTURIES. By Katherine Wallace. (New York: Amisco School Publications, 1974. 452 pp. Illustrations. Price to Schools: \$2.00 paper.)

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CALIFORNIA. By Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. n.p. \$9.95, \$4.95 paper.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *teacher of California history at Laney College and University of California Extension.*

I have long had a dream that I suspect is shared by many other teachers of California history. It is that someday someone will publish a brief, well-written and accurate paperback survey that can serve as an inexpensive core text for a course on the state's history. Apparently, this dream is not shared by the great publishing houses of America; each year still another massive, hardbound California history textbook rolls off the presses, but no paperback survey appears.

It was with some anticipation, then, that I began reading Katherine Wallace's *California Through Five Centuries*, for the book is a reasonably priced paperback, apparently designed for high school and community college students. It is well-organized and well-illustrated, but unfortunately this exhausts the list of its virtues. The work is poorly written and contains far too many factual errors. (For example, Wallace totally confuses the San Francisco vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856.) Her text is primarily descriptive, but when it lapses into interpretation the results are sometimes disastrous. We are assured that the Mexican War was "one of the less costly wars of history" and that "no serious enmity existed between the belligerents." The Mexican American is described as "naturally somewhat fatalistic in his philosophy, historically accepting without complaint whatever befalls him." If this is the kind of material to which our students are to be subjected, Lord help us all.

Fortunately, the *Historical Atlas of California*, also available in paperback, is a scholarly and valuable work. The format is a series of line maps accompanied by concise essays on a great variety of topics, ranging from mean annual rainfall to the Santa Barbara

oil spill. Sea and land routes to California, missions and ranchos, the growth of mining, agriculture and cities, the location of various political boundaries, and the perils of reapportionment are among the many subjects covered by the book. The authors should have made a bit greater effort to spell "San Andreas" correctly, and one could argue with some of their topic choices. (Do we really need to know the location of all the CCC camps of the 1930's?)

But the strengths of this book far outweigh its few weaknesses. It can serve as an excellent supplemental text for a variety of courses as well as a good source of general reference for anyone interested in California history or geography.

THE AMERICAN, RIVER OF EL DORADO. By Margaret Sanborn. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. xiv, 354 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *editor of the Reviews section of the Quarterly.*

It is difficult to think of a California river more susceptible to historical treatment than the American. John Frémont used its banks as part of his trail through the Sierra, John Sutter established his fort where the American meets the Sacramento, James Marshall discovered gold along the river, and Theodore Judah surveyed a portion of the transcontinental railroad through the American's canyons. As Margaret Sanborn puts it in the Preface of her book, "The American's story was, then, California's story."

Yet it is this fact that seems to give Sanborn her greatest difficulty. Too often her story strays away from the river, and while the book contains much valuable information about the American and its people, it also includes much over-simplified and unnecessary coverage of general California history. The result is an uneven work which lacks consistent focus.

Sanborn concentrates on the mining era and provides good descriptions of railroad building and agricultural development along the river. She also discusses the importance of tourism and some of the present-day threats to the American's natural environment. But the book gives short shrift to the lumber industry and ignores past controversies over distribution of Central Valley Project water and power.

The American, River of El Dorado is an often informative and sometimes delightful book, but we still need a more thorough and thoughtful study of the American River's role in California history.

NEW WORLD UTOPIAS: A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY. By Paul Kagan. (New York: Penguin Books Inc., 1975. 191 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95.)

Reviewed by ROBERT V. HINE, *Professor of History at University of California, Riverside.*

California has attracted, according to early Theosophists in Ojai, the "garnered fruitage" of ascending evolution. Similarly, in this book Paul Kagan, a San Francisco photographer-historian, has harvested California's rich and varied utopian experiments. Kagan has been selective: his focus has been on those California groups that kept good photographic records or left photogenic remnants. These he has collected or photographed and illuminated with a text. Except for Tassajara, modern communes are not

included, though they were initially responsible for Kagan's interest. In the late 1960's he worked with graphics at Lama, the mystical community in the mountains of New Mexico. After living there for a time, he returned to California to visit other groups. Combining his photographic skill with his historical training, he began his study of utopia, concentrating on the physical and human remnant that others had overlooked.

A commune, Kagan claims, echoes the relationship of nation to planet; it is part of a larger unit, while at the same time it seeks autonomy. The citizens of utopia, he implies, hold in common with traditional America a naive belief in the goodness of human nature. On the other hand, Kagan believes, as he says in connection with the Theosophical communities, that only through the self-discipline of their nature can people achieve the good society. The book is, in part, an exploration of that hypothesis.

Kagan's text functions primarily as historical background for the pictures. But it also contains interesting new, or little known material. The death of "Father" Elphick at Kaweah, for example, illustrates the hostility of the news media; the apoplectic collapse of this old man was sensationalized by the papers into a scandalous case of communal foul play. Likewise, the Holy City chapter has new details of William Riker's later exploitative charades including his plans to top the Santa Cruz mountains with a colossal female figure containing twelve elevators. The story of Pisgah Grande is well retold. Here, Kagan is as fair with Finis Yoakum, a variant of revivalist Aimee Semple McPherson, as he is with transcendentalist Suzuki Roshi, with whom Kagan is obviously personally more attuned.

Even so, the most intriguing parts of Kagan's book arise from his poking through the ruins. The ghosts of the utopian past stand beside us in the old Greek Theater at Point Loma. We are along when Kagan finds a rusty sausage can in the moldering kitchen at Pisgah Grande. Walking near Cloverdale, we feel the crunch of snails, descendants of the edible varieties brought to this valley by the French Icarians in the 1880's.

The photographs, however, remain Kagan's best contribution. When they come from archives, they are well chosen; when they are Kagan's own work, they are remarkable. The total effect is unlike other photographic essays. Normally photographs communicate greater immediacy as they move from the past to the present—more vitality, more action. In this case the moods are the opposite. The older archival items reveal people living their communal experiences. Kagan's explorations were, on the other hand, in the wreckage, and so the present emerges as fragmented, dusty, shattered, and tinged with defeat.

Kagan's book is not intended as a compendium. It is above all the evocation of a mood, the distillation of dreams, in which the mysticism of Thomas Lake Harris fits with the hard socialism of Burnette G. Haskell. The reason these perspectives make sense in one cover is that both are ultimately related to the prevailing society. In this instance, they are children of the California history from which they grew. Just as Tassajarans are enjoined, according to Kagan, to return to the larger society after a few years, so our minds move from mainstream California to the communal counter-culture and back again. Nevertheless, through these photographs, as in the laugh of Castaneda's Don Juan, we have glimpsed another reality, the essence of the utopian experience.



California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

- Abeloe, William N. *St. John the Baptist: Golden Jubilee Album*, [El Cerrito: Parish of St. John the Baptist, c.1975]. 85 pp. Illustrations. \$5.60. Publisher, 11150 San Pablo Avenue, El Cerrito, CA 94530.
- Alt, David D. and Donald W. Hyndman. *Roadside Geology of Northern California*. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press, 1975. Illustrations. \$5.95. Distributor, Book People, Berkeley, California.
- Asian Americans: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94112.
- Basten, Fred E. *Santa Monica Bay: The First Hundred Years*. Los Angeles: Douglas-West Publishers, 1975. 225 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00. Publisher, Los Angeles, CA.
- Black Americans: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00.
- Blaud, Henry C. *The Basques*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974. \$8.00.
- Bonnheim, Walter. *From Dude to Cowman*. Fresno: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1975. 180 pp. Illustrated. \$5.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
- Buckman, C. T. *75 Years With The Shotgun*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1975. 141 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
- Chicanos: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00.
- Cole, Cherry L. *A History of the Japanese Community in Sacramento, 1883-1972*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$10.00.
- Corpus, Severino F. *An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment, Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$8.00.
- Couro, Ted, and Margaret Langdon. *Let's Talk 'Tipay AA . . .* Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. 262 pp. Illustrations. \$7.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92055.
- Crovetch, Albert. *Housing Migratory Agricultural Workers in California, 1913-1948*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates. 1975. \$8.00.
- DeWitt, Howard A. *Images of Ethnic and Racial Violence in California Politics, 1917-1930*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$9.00.
- Directory of San Francisco Area Clubs and Organizations*. [San Francisco: Greater San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 1974.] 41 pp. \$5.00.
- Dyer, Ruth C. *The Indians' Land Title in California . . . 1851-1942*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$8.00.
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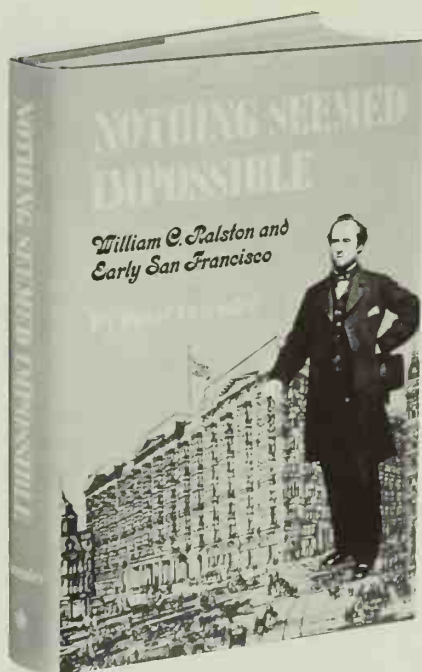
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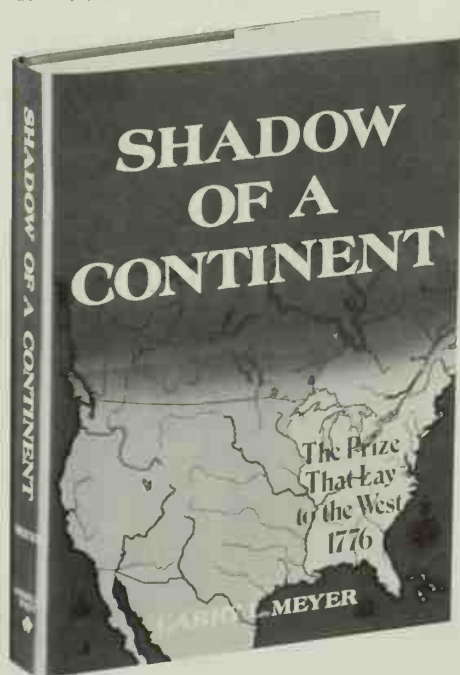
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COVER: A working-class couple seated in a street cafe somewhere in San Francisco is one of the many local scenes rendered by California's master realist artist, Frank Van Sloun (1879-1938). Best known for his easel and mural paintings, Van Sloun's outstanding and innovative graphic achievements, particularly his etchings and monotypes, have only recently come to light. The article beginning on page 345 explores Van Sloun's contributions to twentieth-century American art. "Hard Times" (c. 1932), the monotype on the cover, is in the collection of Dr. Jacob and Helen Foster, Salinas.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV WINTER 1975 NO. 4

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California's master realist artist Frank Van Sloun immortalized "Flossie," a woman of the San Francisco streets, in his well-known 1920 oil on canvas. Articles and a Van Sloun Portfolio begin on page 345. Richard and Renate Davids Collection.

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Clair Engle
for
District Attorney

Qualified by
Experience
Temperament
Training!

A TEHAMA COUNTY SON
for
A TEHAMA COUNTY OFFICE

Clair Engle



for
District Attorney
Tehama County

VITAL FACTS

At early age came to Manton District, Tehama County with parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred J. Engle;

Later moved to Gerber, and after 5 years thence to Los Robles where parents still live;

Graduated from the Red Bluff High School, Chico State College, and the Hastings College of the Law;

With the LAW FIRM of NEW-BURGH & SOMMER, San Francisco, for nearly TWO years, and past the bar examination;

Returned to Tehama County in December 1933, with wife and daughter; and opened law offices in Corning;

Been associated on all prosecutions as ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY since returning to Tehama County.

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In 1934 Clair Engle ran for his first political office, waging a typically thorough, methodical, and aggressive campaign. His slogan, "A Tehama County Son for a Tehama County Office," devastated the opposition and made Engle, at age twenty-two, the youngest district attorney in California.

Clair Engle and His Political Development in Tehama County, 1911-1944

STEPHEN SAYLES

Doctoral candidate in history at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, whose Master's thesis was completed under the direction of W. H. Hutchinson at California State University, Chico.

WHAT WAS ONCE SAID OF WILLIAM MORRIS STEWART, perhaps the prototype "Silver Senator" from Nevada, that "he bestrode the Comstock Lode like the Colossus of Rhodes with as much brass in his belly as any statue," can be said in a different context about Clair William Walter Engle. In 1934, at age twenty-three, he became the youngest district attorney in California. Nine years later, Republican divisiveness enabled Engle, a Democrat, to win a special election to Congress from the state's sprawling Second District. He compiled an impressive record by being returned to Congress seven consecutive times, six of these in the primary election when California still practiced cross-filing. Sensing opportunity in the Republicans' bitter internecine struggle of 1957-1958, he sought and won a seat in the United States Senate, where the prospects of a distinguished, truly national career were beginning to be realized when he succumbed to an inoperable malignancy on July 30, 1964. He seems likely to remain the outstanding political figure produced by the "cow counties" of the north and northeastern portions of California.

Engle was a tough, savvy politician. Dubbed "Congressman Fireball" by admiring colleagues, he was a human dynamo, an authentic political animal, and an extraordinarily effective legislator. His pragmatism and sensitivity toward public opinion enabled him to develop from a rural, conservative Democratic opponent of New Deal bureaucracy in the 1940's to an urban-conscious, pro-civil rights liberal twenty years later. His record indicated a strong attachment toward the "little man," a term he applied to small farmers and ranchers, miners, lumbermen, and businessmen burdened by governmental bureaucracy and privileged economic interests. Buck-passing bureaucrats were often stung by rapier-like "Engleisms," colorful rural colloquialisms that were part of his pioneer heritage. Time has blurred Engle's significance among contemporary Californians, but within this hard-working, flamboyant individualist lay potential for greatness.

For two decades (1943-1964) Engle stood as a major force in California and western regional politics. As ranking Democrat and chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during the fifties, he placed his brand on all natural resource development legislation. Attracted to centers of power in the House cloakroom, he built strong political and personal ties to southern delegations, particularly the Texans, a factor both in his rapid rise in the leadership establishment and in his rich, metaphoric language. The aging Speaker of the

House, Sam Rayburn of Texas, came to see the ambitious Californian as his successor at the apex of congressional power.¹

Engle's greatest legislative achievement was the expansion of California's irrigation and flood control system. He wrote every major legislative addition to the great Central Valley Project, including Folsom Dam on the American River, Sly Park Dam in the Sierra Nevada foothills, San Luis unit in western San Joaquin Valley, and Trinity River Division in northwestern California. His two-volume *Central Valley Project Documents*, published in 1956 and 1957, remains the definitive source on the project's legislative history and construction.

Engle's name became synonymous with federal public power production in the West. He led the fight against the Eisenhower administration's "partnership" program, which was designed to lessen federal involvement in resource development in favor of local and private developers. His long battle with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, a private utility monopoly in north-central California, over control of power facilities of the Trinity River Division is a classic study of the "partnership" controversy. He denounced the program as a massive "give-away" to private corporations that undermined a half-century of reclamation law. Ironically, a similar criticism was made against the controversial "Engle formula" as included in the 1956 Small Reclamations Act. Engle had intended to ease the 160-acre limitation on water distributed to private land by small local reclamation projects, but his formula came under severe attack as a boon to land monopolists that undermined reclamation law established in the 1902 Newlands Act.²

During the fifties Engle became a major participant in the struggle to establish the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the statehood of Alaska and Hawaii. His 1952 Saline Water Act pioneered federal research in the conversion of sea water into fresh water, and his 1958 Military Withdrawal Act corrected military abuse of conservation law. Engle's legislation also created the Point Reyes National Seashore in Marin County as a means to preserve the California coastline from irresponsible development. He also led a fifteen-year fight to establish a federal intertie system to transfer excess electrical power across eleven western states, a system linking the Columbia River dams to Southern California and Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Although he had objected to provisions allowing the Pacific Gas and Electric Company to build the transmission lines into the Central Valley, the program became law a month after his death.

Sometimes seen as a member of the so-called "California conspiracy" on the Colorado River water flow controversy,³ Engle bucked his party and congressional leadership in 1952 to organize the defeat of the Central Arizona project. However, his sectionalism was never so rigid as to oppose blindly all multipurpose projects not directly related to California needs. In 1954, for instance, he braved Southern California's wrath by voting for the small Fryingpan-Arkansas project in Colorado, and he also provided generous support for the Upper Colorado Basin project and the Missouri River Basin project.

Engle zealously guarded local and state water rights against the usurping designs of such federal agencies as the Bureau of Reclamation. He opposed the attempt by the federal installation at Camp Pendleton to take away water rights from ranchers along the Santa Margarita River. In relation to his 1950 Sacra-

mento Valley Canals Act which placed a quarter-million acres in the northern Sacramento Valley under irrigation, he prepared Northern California's water rights defense by urging the creation of a great number of water districts to demonstrate local water usage capacity. This was to conform with the 1931 Counties of Origin law, which provided that only excess water be transferred to the San Joaquin Valley.

Just as Engle's career was filled with accomplishments that aided in expanding California's postwar economy, helped to promote the development of strategic minerals and a national mining policy, and increased trade with the Far East (a major objective of his senate term), his year-long illness and death in the last year of his Senate term held momentous implications for national and state politics. On June 10, 1964, only weeks from death, he cast a needed vote to impose cloture on the historic civil rights filibuster in the Senate, and nine days later he voted for the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act itself. Earlier, when it had become apparent that he could not stand for reelection, Engle's seat became the prize of a long-standing intra-party power struggle between Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, Assembly Speaker Jesse M. ("Big Daddy") Unruh, and their respective senatorial candidates. The consequences of this struggle disastrously weakened party unity and led to the loss of his seat to the Republicans in the general election. Democratic disunity in 1964 set the stage for Republican ascendancy in the years 1966-1974.

That Engle accomplished so much in his short life did not surprise those who had observed his scramble up the political ladder. His early career illuminates the nature of depression and war politics in the northern portion of California in which his political stance mirrored the area's political environment. If Engle had periodically demonstrated opportunism and myopic vision, he nonetheless responded to changing political realities in order to consolidate his power base. Eventually his capacity for growth and progressive leadership emerged. For all of his ambition, there were limits to his power drive beyond which he would not venture; he conducted himself in political office so scrupulously that he died after thirty years of public service without a blemish on his integrity.

Born in Bakersfield on September 21, 1911, Clair Engle was the second of the three sons of Fred Jewell Engle and his wife, the former Carita Alta Keeran. His father's sister Clara assisted in his delivery and his first given name was an adaptation of her's,⁴ a matter that often taunted him with its intimation of femininity. Fred Engle had experienced a series of failures as a schoolteacher, attorney, and cattle rancher, and, in 1913, with Clair still an infant, his father gave in to Mrs. Engle's pressure and agreed to move north to be near her family in the Battle Creek Bottom area of southeastern Shasta County. The Bottom's residents were then beginning a seven-year water rights litigation, first with the Northern California Power Company, Consolidated, and then with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which compelled Engle to "work out" to meet legal expenses. Violence directed towards power company property and employees punctuated this litigation, including a tense scene in which the elder Engle drove trespassing company officials off his pasture with a rifle. In April, 1920, Engle and his neighbors obtained a handsome settlement, but his son never forgave the power companies for interfering with his home.⁵

Engle had earlier settled his family in Gerber, Tehama County, where he worked in the Southern Pacific yard. In July, 1922, however, the family was again on the move as a result of a nationwide railway strike, and they settled on a small dairy ranch in the nearby Los Robles district.⁶ At this time Engle's natural political instincts became noticeable. Local residents remember him as a cocky, brawling boy and as a natural-born leader.⁷ Combining his father's love of history and his mother's need for attention,⁸ he developed a duality of interests that fed his desire for personal glory and power. The first of these was a concern for politics because, he said, his father "was always puttin' Daniel Webster and Henry Clay and such up to me."⁹ The second was a fascination with the exploits of Napoleon and Alexander the Great that led him to seek an appointment to West Point.¹⁰ Engle's wish to be acknowledged was most evident in his relationships with those outside his family. He made it his business to know every boy and girl around, and he forced his presence upon older, high school boys as a device for increasing his prestige among his peers. No record exists of his having strong youthful opinions on any issue, except that he always championed the underdog. He always sought, however, to paper over differences, make a joke, and leave everyone laughing.¹¹

Engle's combative, competitive, and leadership qualities were amply demonstrated in his high school political career. The Red Bluff Union High School campus, he noted, was divided into social cliques which pitted rural and town students, roughly equal in number, against each other on the premise that the rural students were less educated, and therefore less intelligent, than those who had attended the modern elementary school in Red Bluff.¹² Student government was controlled by senior and town students, and Engle immediately set out to upset this political status quo. His campaign for student body president provided a blueprint for his future political campaigns, blending elements of luck, shrewd insight into public opinion, careful and detailed political planning, tight campaign organization, and direct contact with his constituency.

Engle became highly visible in school activities, especially in the student newspaper, dramatics, sports, and dances, and he used lesser student offices as stepping-stones to the presidency. A term on the student council led him to conclude that student government was too amenable to the opinions of faculty advisors.¹³ His naked passion to become student body president split student and faculty opinion.¹⁴ Late in his junior year, a committee named Engle and a talented and popular Red Bluff coed as candidates for the presidency. While his opponent conducted the school's traditional subdued campaign, he shocked students and faculty alike by openly seeking votes. His supporters saturated the campus with posters and distributed campaign cards to every student. Engle made these cards himself with a hand press he had learned to operate in a local newspaper plant.¹⁵ He won easily, prompting a faculty observer to remark, "It was personality and aggressiveness that won for [Engle]—a real politician even then."¹⁶

Engle distinguished himself as a knowledgeable parliamentarian and as a headstrong, activist student leader. His earthy speech, dotted with rural colloquialisms, did not sit well with the faculty, and this disenchantment came to a head when he sought reelection in January, 1928. The nominating committee ignored Engle's expression of availability for reelection and nominated two Red Bluff seniors. He quickly organized his coterie of supporters to collect signatures to place his



SPIG... "Let's Two-Term Him"

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"I do ~~not~~ Choose to Run in 1928"

For President
Student Body

Clair Engle

Engle "learned how to campaign in high school," and in 1928 he printed campaign cards on a hand press to secure reelection as student body president.

name on the ballot as a third candidate. In another campaign blitz, full of the razzle-dazzle of his first campaign, Engle consolidated his power base among rural students. Arguing aggressively for less faculty interference in student affairs, he won over a divided town-student opposition and served as president until his graduation in June, 1928.¹⁷

Engle's high school years were crucial to his political development, and he remarked later that "he had learned how to campaign in high school."¹⁸ His 1928 yearbook predicted satirically that he would be "running on the Socialist ticket for the presidency of the United States."²⁰ Engle was strongly oriented toward public service, and politics seemed to be a convenient avenue to this end, now that his youthful interest in the military had waned. He had acquainted himself with the children of important political, civic, and social leaders in Tehama County, and through them he became acquainted with the county's power elite. Politics seemed to provide Engle with a means of establishing his identity.

Engle enrolled at Chico Junior College on the campus of Chico State Teacher's College in September, 1928. Although barely seventeen years old, he had already decided to become an attorney in order to have the basis for seeking the Tehama County district attorneyship in the 1934 elections.²¹ His exuberant personality won him many new friends, but he made his most significant friendship with Charles Edson Caldwell, a transfer student from Humboldt State College who found in young Engle a self-confidence and self-knowledge that he was only beginning to acquire for himself. Caldwell's boyhood had been dominated by his parents, whose stern, anti-intellectual, and fundamentalist Christianity had induced in him a palpable terror of God's righteous anger. This early conditioning and his struggle to overcome its more stifling aspects may explain why Caldwell found a life's work as a counsellor to and teacher of young people.²²

Engle and Caldwell are best remembered as campus religious radicals, strait-laced in their personal habits, contemptuous of alcohol and cigarettes, and active in the religious life of the campus and community. Their public speaking skills were honed by preaching to rural and local congregations and by their participation in the Debating Club, where they never lost a debate. A much more subtle and reflective thinker than Engle, Caldwell was disturbed by his friend's attraction to powerful men, and he reminded Engle that strong historical figures without firm moral standards brought destruction not only to the world, but also to themselves.²³ They would remain fast friends long after their college days.

In mid-August, 1930, Engle registered for classes at Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. For the first time in his life he was alone. He did not eat well; his complexion became pallid; and he accepted free meals whenever possible. Engle

financed his studies through loans from his father and by taking any work available in the downtown area. "The people that pen the virtue of earning your bread 'by the sweat of your brow,' " he wrote, "are not usually the ones that do it."²⁴ He eventually obtained a position as a clerk in a law firm, about which he had mixed feelings. Although the position provided practical experience and the flavor of working in a law office, Engle never rid himself of the notion that he was being exploited. "Men on top incline to keep the other fellow down so they can benefit by his labor," he wrote. "I intend to keep that from happening to me."²⁵

Engle made few close friends at Hastings. An exception was Stanley Pugh of Red Bluff. His father, Fred Custer Pugh, had once done some legal work for Engle's father and had recently retired as Tehama County district attorney. Both students became friendly with fellow student Glen Sheldon, a San Francisco chiropractor who invited his more intelligent classmates to his apartment to study and have dinner prepared by his wife, Hazel. A native of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Hazel Burney Sheldon was nearly twelve years Engle's senior. She had moved to Vancouver, British Columbia, with her parents at an early age. Hazel looked remarkably like Engle's mother; she was attractive, soft-voiced, and romantic (quite unlike Carita Engle), but her shrewd business sense was overshadowed by her deeply introverted personality. Engle had virtually no experience with women, but he found himself attracted to her. What part, if any, he played in the Sheldon's subsequent divorce is unclear. Hazel received a modest settlement²⁶ and moved into an apartment with a spinster friend and later rented Engle a bedroom. In the following months he ardently wooed her, even reading her Napoleon's love letters to Josephine. Clair Engle and Hazel Sheldon were married in San Francisco on January 12, 1933, although their wedding was kept secret for several months in order to continue receiving money from his parents. Engle graduated from Hastings in May, 1933, and returned to Los Robles to inform his family that he had married. His parents were shocked. Even his grandmother chided his rash action, but Engle sought to reassure her, writing that there was a "standing offer" for her to meet Hazel, who "wants to cook a special dinner in your honor."²⁷ During the summer Engle prepared himself for the grueling bar exams in September. It was several months before the results were made known, but Engle's anxious waiting was brightened when Hazel gave birth to their daughter, Yvonne Lorraine, in mid-October. A month later he was admitted to the California bar.

A few days later Engle left his family and took a train to Red Bluff to find a home, open a law office, and run for district attorney in 1934. He was twenty-two years old, just over five-feet seven-inches tall with blue-grey eyes and dark-brown hair combed straight back to make him appear taller. Rimless glasses added age to his boyish appearance. He was slightly overweight, but there was a jaunty, confident air about him as he stepped from the train onto the sidewalk, and he walked with swinging arms, eyes straight ahead, and head thrust forward. All that had preceded this arrival was mere preparation for the inauguration of what was to be Clair Engle's meteoric political career.

Tehama County politics in the early thirties reflected its economic interests, namely farming, sheep, cattle, orchards, and related enterprises. Republican politics and high tariffs were well-received in the area. County politics was basically club politics, strongly influenced by social cliques and sectional feeling. This was

especially evident in the county seat, Red Bluff, which reflected its social and economic groupings even in the cliques on the high school campus. The 600 block on Main Street was the core of the town's economic base, and many of its businessmen served in city and county political office. Most notable of these merchant-politicians was Daniel Jack Metzger, a wheeling-dealing promoter and town booster, who was a force to be reckoned with in county politics. Strong service and fraternal organizational rivalries also existed between Red Bluff and Corning, a small community serving the south-central portions of the county.

Of crucial importance to any political neophyte was the legal and political rivalry between two Red Bluff attorneys, Fred Pugh and Curtiss E. Wetter, neighbors and conservative Republicans. This rivalry was a critical factor in the race for county coroner and district attorney. Then in his late fifties, Pugh had earlier distinguished himself as prosecuting attorney of Spokane County, Washington, where he prosecuted the famous I.W.W. "free speech" trials, participated in a three-man commission to revamp the state's criminal code, and investigated a locally explosive bribery scandal. His health having failed him, Pugh moved to Tehama County in 1911 and served two terms as district attorney during the 1920's. He had hired young Curtiss Wetter, just out of law school, as his assistant, but irreconcilable differences between the two men led to the latter's resignation. Wetter later became Red Bluff city attorney, senior partner in Wetter & Rankin, and a member of the "Presbyterian aristocracy" which had dominated Red Bluff's political and economic affairs for decades. He was chairman of the Tehama County Republicans and would soon become chairman of the northern division of the Second Congressional District Republican Central Committee. He was gregarious and charming, as well as tough, proud, and jealous of his position in local affairs, so that his successful career was also marked by personal and political feuds.²⁸

The significance of the Pugh-Wetter rivalry in county politics was not lost on young Clair Engle. While still in high school he had idolized Curt Wetter, who had risen from humble beginnings in Corning to become one of the county's best attorneys. Engle had often visited Wetter's office on Walnut Street and declared that he was going to become a lawyer himself.²⁹ However, through Stanley Pugh Engle had become acquainted with Fred Pugh, who had retired from active county politics. Thus, in late November, 1933, when Engle entered Pugh's office on the 600 block of Main Street to seek advice, he had made his first major decision affecting his future in Tehama County politics.

Pugh advised the aspiring attorney to open his office in Corning in order to avoid competing with more established attorneys.³⁰ Judging from the headlines of the influential *Corning Observer*, a daily Democratic newspaper published by Buena Maud Harper, the area seemed on the verge of a major oil boom. Best of all, Corning's single attorney, aging Edward L. Randall, represented the business and political leaders of the area, and Engle could make a good living from those unable to pay Randall's high fees. Engle, deciding that Pugh's counsel made good sense, opened an office in the Bank of Corning's building and established his family in a South Street home near the Methodist Church.

Engle's practice developed slowly, and he spent much of his time in Red Bluff talking with the courthouse politicians. He was particularly attentive to the ailing

district attorney Marion J. Cheatham, a popular politician who remained independent of both the Pugh and Wetter factions. Engle participated in the prosecution of several cases, while at the same time he plotted his campaign for district attorney with his old friend, Edson Caldwell, currently working part-time in Red Bluff, and Francis William ("Red") Mosher, Jr., news editor of the *Corning Observer*. Using Hazel's divorce settlement,³¹ they carefully arranged their newspaper advertising campaign. Caldwell was impressed with Engle's meticulous attention to detail, although he worried about his youth and inexperience as a trial attorney. Engle was certain, however, that his visibility as Cheatham's assistant and his status as a native son would compensate for his disadvantages. Tehama County tended to favor politicians with well-established local roots.

Red Mosher provided the data that went into these strategy sessions. He was a tall, strait-laced Methodist, bachelor, and a Republican. Since Engle was considered by some to be an outsider in Corning, Mosher acted as his eyes and ears and reported all the political gossip to him every evening. The jealousy of Edward Randall, Corning's senior lawyer, made it impossible for Engle to join the Rotary Club. However, Mosher was not only a Rotarian, but also a member of the fire department, Masons, golf club, sportsman's club, and the Tehama Lions Club. In exchange for Mosher's information, Engle provided him with political news from the county courthouse and reports on the status of current prosecutions, all of which found its way into the *Corning Observer*.³²

Early in 1934 it became apparent that Cheatham's chronic heart condition would block his bid for reelection as district attorney. Soon declaring their candidacies were Richel Clyde Colombe and Marvin Jack Rankin, who was Curt Wetter's law partner. His declaration came as no surprise to Engle, who had earlier hoped to retain the good will of both Pugh and Wetter for his campaign and banked on his friendship to secure Wetter's endorsement. Wetter flatly refused and attempted to dissuade him from running. Surprised, Engle angrily declared that he was barely making a living as an attorney and that it was a matter of survival for him to win the election. It was clear to him then that Jack Rankin would become a candidate, and Engle never forgot Wetter's rebuff.³³ Rankin's entry into the district attorney sweepstakes moved Fred Pugh, Wetter's long-time rival, to act as Engle's unofficial campaign advisor. "Look," Wetter later told Pugh, "Clair would stab his own mother to get ahead."³⁴

In mid-May Mosher arranged a meeting between Engle and Buena Maud Harper to obtain her editorial support. Harper, then in her mid-fifties and widowed, was a confidant of Corning's founder and leading citizen, Warren N. Woodson, an influential Democratic party leader. While thoroughly charmed by Engle's dynamic personality, she refused to commit her newspaper to his campaign for fear of losing advertising from opposition candidates. She promised, however, to print all of Engle's campaign literature at minimum cost and to back his candidacy fully behind the scenes.³⁵ Harper and Woodson shared a desire to break the grip of Red Bluff lawyers on the district attorney's office, and their support of Engle's candidacy was thus another manifestation of the Corning-Red Bluff rivalry.

With this commitment Engle opened his campaign. Tehama County had never before seen a political campaign as thorough, methodical, and aggressive



In his 1934 campaign for Tehama County D.A., Engle won support from Buena Maude Harper (left), influential publisher of the Democratic Corning Observer. Attorney Curt Wetter (above) dominated the Republican Central Committee, and his growing antagonism with Engle helped push Engle to become a Democrat by 1936.

as the one Engle waged in 1934. He visited every community and farm center in the county, and shook every hand he could reach. There were not two or three people together to whom he did not give a speech. He was masterful on a person-to-person level and superb during farm center and candidate night meetings. Engle never tired of pointing out that Colombe and Rankin were newcomers to the county while he had lived most of his life in the area. His greatest campaign weakness lay in communicating with women voters, and Hazel made her few appearances with him before women's groups. It was a handicap he was never really to overcome, and many female politicians thought that he "was just plain anti-women."³⁶

In Red Bluff a sensitive Curtiss Wetter flushed over reports that Engle's barbs were directed more at him than Rankin. After a meeting held in the Idyllwild Dance Hall north of Los Molinos, Engle indicated this growing antagonism toward Wetter. "You know," he carelessly remarked, "I could beat that Rankin easy if that sonuvabitch Wetter would lay off me." Wetter demanded an apology, but Engle replied that he had not meant anything personal by that remark. Wetter, however, took the matter personally and retorted, "I won't ever forget it."³⁷

On August 28, 1934, the campaign concluded with Engle showing great strength in southern and central Tehama County, Rankin doing well in the northern portion, and Colombe running a very poor third. Engle, however, failed to obtain a majority and had to face Rankin in the November general election. Both candidates made much of their respective positions in the Pugh-Wetter factionalism. Rankin insinuated that his opponent was a tool of "political bossism," while Engle responded that he, unlike Rankin, had no obligations to any

other county attorney. Furthermore, Engle devastated Rankin with the slogan, "A Tehama County Son for a Tehama County Office."³⁸ In November, Engle scored an impressive victory, and the voting pattern indicated that he was strong everywhere in the county except the city of Red Bluff. Engle thus became "the baby-faced D. A.," the youngest district attorney in California.

The mid-1930's became a critical period in Engle's political development, as he made his plunge into partisan politics. Shortly after settling in Corning, he had registered as a Republican, although this act represented no deep personal commitment upon his part. Indeed, in the recent campaign he had unabashedly tied himself to President Roosevelt with the ingenious slogan, "Roosevelt Prefers Men Who are Young."³⁹ Engle also had told Mosher of his belief that as a Democrat he would have a better chance to become a county judge. Mosher was frankly dubious about that, although he continued to take Engle to Republican central committee meetings for two years, but finally told him to make up his mind.⁴⁰

Engle's indecision was one indication of how the political scene in Tehama County reflected the transitional period in state politics during which the Republicans were losing power and the Democrats were becoming the dominant political force. A skeleton Democratic party organization had survived in Northern California during the Republican sweeps of the 1920's largely through the efforts of Judge Francis Carr of Redding, who had represented the power companies in the water rights litigation against Engle's father and neighbors in Battle Creek Bottom. Carr supported conservative Democratic Senator William G. McAdoo and acted as broker for New Deal patronage; Engle later credited the judge as a founder of the Central Valley Project.⁴¹

In spite of Judge Carr's efforts, the Democratic party structure was very weak in Tehama County. The central committee was dominated by old men and special interests who were loathe to bring in new blood. These "old bulls" refused to placate the vocal minority of liberal Democrats championing Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial candidacy, and Buena Maud Harper and John G. Miller, conservative Democratic editor of the *Red Bluff Daily News*, openly collaborated with Fred Pugh to bring Democrats into the Republican fold. The angry liberals bolted the regular organization and did not return until the Democrats took over the statehouse in 1938.

Probably early in 1936 Engle became a Democrat.⁴² With Wetter dominating the Republican central committee, there was little chance for Engle to advance rapidly through its ranks. In contrast, the local Democratic organization was dominated by aging men who had no personal political ambitions. Engle carefully built strong ties to these party leaders; namely, John G. Miller, whom he had known since high school days, old "Daddy" Woodson in Corning, and Arthur Lee Conard, a Red Bluff hotel operator who was an authority on Northern California water problems. All three Democrats favored dam construction on the Sacramento River in northern Tehama County in order to develop Red Bluff, a position which Engle, much to his later sorrow, adopted. Engle's interest in water problems can be traced to these men and to the Sacramento River's devastation of Gerber in the flood of 1937. As attorney and secretary of the Northern California Water Control Association, he became an expert on problems relating to the Sacramento River.

In spring, 1935, Army Reserve Second Lieutenant Edmund M. Moor arrived in the county with the Civilian Conservation Corps and had some effect upon county politics. A San Francisco attorney, Moor consulted with Curtiss Wetter and opened a law office in Corning.⁴³ This action precipitated Engle's decision to move to Red Bluff for convenience in performing his official duties. To ascertain possible resentment in Corning, he talked the matter over with Mosher and Harper, both of whom pledged continued support for his political career.⁴⁴

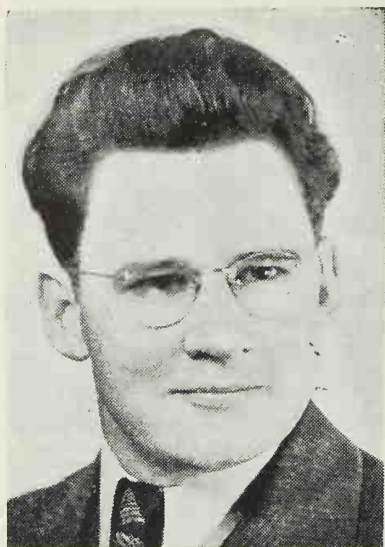
The Engles, however, were not to become part of Red Bluff's socially-elect group. Society tended to look down upon Engle as a "poison oaker" from Battle Creek Bottom, and Hazel's aloof personality, shyness in fact, did nothing to improve their social standing. The circumstances of their marriage and the disparity in their ages provided grist for the gossip mill.⁴⁵ They entertained only infrequently, usually with the Pughs, Edson and Ruth Caldwell, Red Mosher, and personal friends from Los Robles. Engle's devotion to his office and career often kept him away from home late at night and impinged on his family life.

In 1938, Ed Moor had hopes of unseating Engle as district attorney. Moor had become close friends with Red Mosher and worked in many Republican endeavors. The challenge received a setback even before the campaign began, however, when he was appointed to defend a young thug against a murder charge. Engle's electrifying prosecution sent Moor's client to the gas chamber. Engle studiously ignored Moor's pressing attack during the ensuing campaign. "When running a race," he laughed, "don't take time to kick a dog yapping at your heels."⁴⁶ Disappointed by Mosher's and Harper's neutrality, Engle nevertheless won every precinct in the county except for an evenly-split Corning precinct. The two politicians subsequently became close friends and supported each other for political office for the next twenty years.

Engle's term as "the flying D. A.," a reference to his recent interest in aviation, proved to be of great future political benefit. So did his strong popular stand against the Jehovah's Witnesses for urging their children not to salute the flag in school. Engle's prestige soared in June, 1940, when Attorney General Earl Warren, a long-time friend,⁴⁷ appointed him to prosecute a blood-feud killing in Weaverville. His investigation led to a direct confrontation with several angry Trinity County mountain men who did not like having outsiders meddle in their affairs. Engle eventually obtained a manslaughter conviction, and the legislature appropriated \$2,000 for his efforts.⁴⁸

Engle's most important and heart-breaking prosecution involved a Christmas Eve, 1940, fatal hit-and-run incident north of Red Bluff. An investigation determined that the automobile involved belonged to Fred ("Ted") Pugh, Jr., a close friend of Engle and namesake of his political benefactor. After talking with Ed Moor, Engle asked Earl Warren to bring in a special prosecutor. To his astonishment, Warren absolutely refused. "If you want to go any place [in politics]," Warren said, "you have to put your personal feelings aside."⁴⁹ Warren's refusal stunned Hazel, and she begged her husband not to prosecute one of their closest friends. She never forgave Warren for compelling Engle to prosecute young Pugh.⁵⁰

The elder Pugh was outraged by what he considered to be a betrayal of their friendship. The defense team Pugh organized for his son even included Pugh's old



RE-ELECT
Clair Engle
DISTRICT ATTORNEY

One Good Term Deserves Another

BREARCLIFFE OFFICE PRINT, RED BLUFF



Judge Francis Carr (above) of Redding kept alive a skeleton Democratic party organization in Northern California during the 1920's. In 1938 Carr's quiet support helped Engle win a second term as county D.A. (left). The two men later parted company over the issue of dam construction on the Sacramento River.

rival, Curtiss Wetter. Engle seemed subdued during the trial, and a trial witness noted that "Clair just didn't have the heart to tear into Fred."⁵¹ Ted Pugh was acquitted, and his brother, Stanley, later wrote that the trial caused a permanent break between their father and Engle. Fred Pugh "never forgave the young D. A. for what he considered to be an act of expediency and never again during his remaining years did he speak to or communicate with him again."⁵²

Engle's prominence in local Democratic politics had won the attention of Judge Carr, who had quietly urged his contacts to push his campaign in 1938.⁵³ Late in 1938, however, Engle opposed Carr's candidate for a seat on the California Highway Commission in favor of a Red Bluff Democrat whose appointment, Engle wrote, "would give life to the Democratic organization in this county."⁵⁴ Engle had risen rapidly through party ranks under Buena Maud Harper's sponsorship, and he had helped to organize the Tehama County Democratic Club in order to coordinate all party activities and to lure back the dissident liberals. In summer, 1940, he became party chairman for Democrats in the Third Assembly District, which broadened his contacts into Yolo, Colusa, and Glenn counties. In September, 1940, he also became chairman of the Tehama County Democrats.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, came at a most inopportune moment for Engle's political calculations. His timetable had been established and did not allow for a hitch in the military. The disaster also aroused dormant West Coast anti-Oriental prejudice and led to the forced evacuation of

Japanese *Issei* and *Nisei* to relocation centers in the continental interior. Engle strongly endorsed this War Department policy and also worked in the local effort to collect hunting knives to "Stab-a-Jap" in the South Pacific. His harsh attitude is understandable in terms of the existing political climate, but he did not share local anti-Oriental prejudice. For example, the Engle family was close friends with Red Bluff's Chinese community, then consisting of the Chew Yuen family. Moreover, in 1939 Engle expressed no strong opinions on the marriage of Hazel's sister Kathleen to a wealthy Japanese national in Vancouver. Any possible political embarrassment had been averted upon his brother-in-law's death in 1940.⁵⁵

Complicating Engle's political life were two changes in newspaper management. First, John G. Miller sold his Red Bluff newspaper to conservative Democrat Fred W. McKechnie, Jr., lately from Reno, Nevada. "Mac" hit it off with the young district attorney and sympathized with his difficulties with Curtiss Wetter. Wetter was always embroiled in a feud with someone, and McKechnie reserved many acerbic remarks for him and the "Presbyterian aristocracy" that he thought Wetter symbolized.⁵⁶ Second, in June, 1941, Buena Maud Harper married C. P. Button, a Republican newspaper publisher from Tracy, California. Her marriage destroyed Red Mosher's hope of acquiring the *Corning Observer*. In 1938 Republican State Senator Daniel Jack Metzger had offered to finance his negotiations, but Mosher was not interested in using the paper as a propaganda vehicle for Senator Metzger. In an emotional scene, he informed Mrs. Harper-Button that he had decided to leave for a position with the *Tulelake Reporter*.⁵⁷ Mosher's departure was a personal and political blow to Engle, who was preparing a campaign to unseat Metzger in the 1942 elections.

Metzger had occupied Engle's attention for years, for he was the dominant political personality in the Eighth Senatorial District, composed of Colusa, Glenn, and Tehama counties. The state senator was in his mid-fifties, a veteran of matrimonial wars, and blessed with an electrifying personality. A flashy dresser with his white suits and shoes, gaudy rings, and colorful ties, he invariably campaigned in new Cadillacs and Buicks. He was closely associated with the powerful lobbyist, Arthur H. Samish, who had donated generously to Metzger's earlier reelection bid in 1938 against a political unknown.⁵⁸ Although he was popular and enjoyed a reputation for getting things done in Sacramento, Metzger suffered from a poverty of personal and political principles which had induced an undercurrent of cynicism among his constituency by 1942.

In 1942, Clair Engle's political antennae picked up rumblings of anti-Metzger sentiment throughout his district. In his committee chairmanships, Metzger had acted capriciously toward Samish's clients, and this relationship terminated when he attempted to room his bookkeeper, George Dryselt, with one of the lobbyist's assistants in a Sacramento hotel. When Samish heard about that, said Dryselt, "he bawled hell out of Metzger like he was a bus boy, . . . [and] that was the beginning of the end of Jack's political career."⁵⁹ The most punishing blow to Metzger's prestige, however, occurred in July, 1940, when he was dumped from his seat on the Red Bluff City Council by his colleagues who resented his prolonged absences and tendency to conduct public business in the back room of his Blue Ribbon Cafe on the 600 block of Main Street.

Two years later, Metzger filed to regain his former council seat, and leading

town citizens formed an anti-Metzger coalition. Behind this effort stood young Clair Engle who saw the election as a test to determine the amount of erosion into Metzger's political base. "If we can beat Metzger for the council," he declared, "I can beat him for the state senate." Engle "masterminded" the anti-Metzger forces and used his office as a campaign center.⁶⁰ For the first time in his career Metzger had been beaten, and Engle had all the encouragement he needed to run for the state senate.

On May 22, 1942, Engle declared his candidacy. Liberal Democratic Governor Culbert Olson's reelection effort was proving to be very weak, and such stalwart Democrats as McKechnie and Miller were supporting his opponent, Earl Warren. Engle, too, maintained his distance from Olson and wondered how much Olson's lagging campaign would hurt his own chances in the August primaries. Engle tried to associate himself with Warren's nonpartisan approach. Indeed, the Engle campaign was being financed from the \$2,000 he had received from Warren's office for the Weaverville murder trial.⁶¹ In early August a Tehama County group strongly linked to agricultural interests organized a nonpartisan "Engle for State Senator Committee." It praised Engle as an independent-minded Democrat who had "the friendship and confidence" of Earl Warren.⁶²

There were no substantive differences between the two candidates, and the race turned upon their personalities and campaign styles. Metzger depicted himself as a "statesman" working too hard in Sacramento to campaign actively. His sluggish campaign resulted from his failure to grasp the full impact of Engle's aggressive and nonpartisan approach. While Metzger remained complacent, Engle's disciplined organization went into action. Edson Caldwell drove up from Vallejo, where he taught in a junior high school, to follow Metzger about, hoping to catch an indiscreet remark, and found that the state senator was not taking his youthful challenger seriously. Jack Matteson, city editor of the *Red Bluff Daily News*, labored to prepare campaign releases and newspaper ads, and he marvelled at his candidate's campaign style. "In town after town," he wrote, "I would let Clair out of the car on the outskirts and with a handful of cards he would stop at every business establishment, and to customers and owners would pass the time of day and solicit their vote."⁶³ Observers began to notice that Jack Metzger, the master campaigner, was being out-campaigned.

On August 25, 1942, the primary election concluded with a smashing victory for Engle, who carried every county in both party primaries for a total vote of 5,850 to Metzger's 3,199.⁶⁴ Artie Samish later claimed that he had engineered Metzger's demise,⁶⁵ but it seemed clear that Metzger's political star was waning while Engle's was rising. Metzger exuded the aura of a tarnished and shallow politician, while Engle was perceived to be a clean, aggressive, sincere, and honest young man. Engle's adroit handling of the Olson albatross served to win over Republicans and conservative Democrats who were eager to find excuses for voting against Metzger. It was once again a combination of hard work, luck, and brilliant organization that made Engle the first Democrat to represent the Eighth Senatorial District.

Referring to Engle's term in the state senate, political analyst Edward H. Dickson declared that Engle "showed great promise of becoming an effective legislator with progressive leanings."⁶⁶ Engle saw the state legislature as subservient

to special interests at the expense of the people.⁶⁷ By the people, however, he did not include the evacuated Japanese, and he co-authored repressive legislation to plug loopholes in the 1913 California Alien Land Act and to deny off-shore fishing rights to the Japanese and other aliens ineligible for citizenship. He took an anti-bureaucratic stance against the National Park Service in which he backed Tehama County cattle ranchers in an effort to re-open the Lassen Volcanic National Park to livestock grazing. His most significant legislation, however, converted rural county fairgrounds into housing facilities for Mexican *braceros* brought into California to meet demands for cheap agricultural labor. This law did much to avert a major economic disaster in the state in 1943-1944.

Engle found himself restless in the state legislature and looked around for other political opportunities. He did not have long to wait. Back in Washington, D. C., Congressman Harry Lane Englebright, minority whip of the House, suddenly died on May 13, 1943, literally working himself to death during the war emergency. He had ably served the Second District for nearly seventeen years. This was the largest congressional district in the nation, except for the State of Nevada, and consisted of eighteen counties from the Oregon border south along the spine of the Sierra Nevada to within two hundred miles of Los Angeles. It contained agricultural, lumber, and mining interests, and its very size made it—and makes it—an incumbent's district. Not since 1920 has an incumbent congressman been denied reelection in the district.

Backstage maneuverings for the coming special election began even as Englebright's body was being returned to his birthplace in Nevada City, and local Republican leaders initiated a movement to propel the congressman's widow, Marie Grace Englebright, into the race. Then in her late fifties, the grief-stricken widow was under heavy pressure from House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., to save the seat for the Republicans. Martin assured her that she could have her husband's committee assignments for the current session, and she took him at his word.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, State Senator Jesse M. Mayo of Angels Camp threw his hat into the political ring. He was a hard-working Republican legislator, and much of his backing came from the California Republican organization. The Englebright camp saw the hand of Governor Warren behind the Mayo boom, and political observer Richard Rodda agreed, "It's a safe bet that Governor Warren, the most powerful Republican in the state at the time, supported him."⁶⁹

The Democrats could hardly believe their good fortune. Assemblyman Alfred W. Robertson, chairman of the California Democratic Central Committee, ordered the county chairmen of the Second District to hold a caucus and unite behind a single candidate. He handed the assignment to Judge Carr, chairman of the Second Districts Democrats.⁷⁰ Carr wanted to field a candidate from the district's northern counties, and he called a meeting of the Democratic leaders of the seven northernmost counties for June 13 at the Golden Eagle Hotel in Redding. He also made arrangements to have a general meeting two weeks later of the entire Second District leadership in Roseville.

In addition to Engle, there were two candidates before the Redding caucus. The strongest possibility was State Senator Oliver J. Carter, whose father, Jesse W. Carter, was a member of the California supreme court. Senator Carter's

major problem, however, was the political and legal rivalry between his father and Judge Carr, which neutralized his advantage as a member of the Shasta County Democratic organization.⁷¹ District Attorney Edwin J. Regan of Weaverville also sought the nomination, but the scarce population and isolation of Trinity County were major problems for him. Regan was a protege of David Edward Ryan, whose respect for the late congressman turned the county into an Englebright stronghold, much to Judge Carr's disgust.⁷²

On Sunday afternoon, June 13, 1943, Democratic leaders from Tehama, Shasta, Trinity, and Plumas counties met in the Golden Eagle Hotel dining room while Judge Carr sat in the lobby to await their decision. The meeting was relaxed and informal, and none of the candidates seemed overwhelmingly eager for the nomination. With each member supporting his favorite son, the Plumas County delegate cast the deciding vote for Engle. Everyone then was called into the dining room to arrange a unanimous vote.⁷³ With this endorsement, the Roseville meeting on June 27 became a formality at which Engle secured a unanimous vote.⁷⁴

News of the Roseville decision excited Tehama County. It was the first time a Tehama County man had even a chance to represent the district since 1926, and it was a grand opportunity to elect a man with firsthand knowledge of problems relating to the Sacramento River, which was of major concern after the flooding of 1940-1941. A nonpartisan "Engle for Congress Committee" was set up, and on June 1, Engle formally declared his candidacy for the special election.

The campaign produced no clear-cut differences on issues among the candidates, but such apparent harmony should not disguise the significance of the special election as an indicator of postwar political trends. The election reflected national disenchantment with bureaucratic government, the drift from isolationism to internationalism, and popular acceptance of President Roosevelt's war policies. There were also rumors that Engle received heavy financial support from the Democratic National Committee which, if true, probably came through Judge Carr.⁷⁵

The special election was the first test of California opinion upon the possible return of the Japanese evacuees to their homes, and the early indications were not reassuring. Virulent anti-Japanese prejudice in the mountain counties was exacerbated by the construction of relocation centers at Tule Lake and Manzanar, and each candidate vied for this sentiment. Engle opposed the return of Japanese-Americans to the West Coast during the war and the return of Japanese aliens after the war. "It is useless to win this war," he said, "if we lose biologically in California as it already has happened in Hawaii."⁷⁶ Bold words indeed for a man whose late brother-in-law had been a Japanese alien; but this relationship was not discussed during the campaign.

The most important aspect of this election was organized labor's unprecedented political action campaign. Most A.F.L. and C.I.O. support went to Engle. Campaign workers from the Sacramento office of the Woodworker's Union and the International Longshoreman's Union (both C.I.O.), launched an all-out effort on Engle's behalf in mountain communities.⁷⁷ Engle's association with labor nearly proved disastrous in the militantly anti-labor Sacramento Valley. Just before the election, thousands of anonymous postcards charged that he was a

C.I.O. puppet. Fred McKechnie uncovered the plot and attributed it, without conclusive evidence, to Curtiss Wetter⁷⁸. This postcard flap concluded Engle's campaign on an uncertain and apprehensive note.

On August 31, 1943, less than forty per cent of the voters went to the polls, and a slight pro-Engle trend developed as the evening wore on. Although his opponents conceded defeat, Engle refrained from claiming victory until well into the following day. Democratic National Committee Chairman Frank S. Butler telephoned Judge Carr twice for the latest results. After talking with Carr in the afternoon, Engle finally claimed victory. He received 12,235 votes to Englebright's 10,312 and Mayo's 8,176.⁷⁹ The voting pattern bore out the district's traditional sectionalism, which always surfaced with the removal of an incumbent congressman. Although the victory was a morale booster for national Democrats, Engle never campaigned as a New Deal Democrat. He demonstrated little strength outside the northern section and won only because the Republicans divided their vote. He traveled alone to Washington, D. C., celebrating his birthday along the way, and was sworn in by House Speaker Sam Rayburn on September 23, 1943, at the Speaker's rostrum.

Realizing that his position on the political ladder was not yet secure, Engle prepared himself for reelection in the May, 1944, primary. His seat on the Committee on Mines was most helpful. It enabled him to secure funds for an iron survey, designed to provide a basis for West Coast steel development, and eighty per cent of California's iron ore lay in his district. He also introduced a bill to



Newspaper publisher Fred W. McKechnie, Jr. (below), a Red Bluff Democrat, supported Engle politically and personally in Engle's successful 1942 campaign for the state senate against incumbent Republican Daniel Jack Metzger (left, shown with wife Constance at Hollywood Park horse races).



revoke the War Production Board's (W.P.B.) ban on gold mining in order to help the small miners, and, stretching a point, he later wrote that "it appears that the rumpus we are making has had a little effect as the W.P.B. is gradually lifting restrictions under L-208."⁸⁰ Engle also worked to bring a steel alloy plant to Redding, which no doubt pleased Judge Carr. In casting his votes in Congress Engle sought to prove that "I am no new dealer. In fact I have caught a lot of hell from the left wing democrats. . . . The road of the independent is hard."⁸¹

Engle continued his campaign against the evacuee resettlement program, and the disturbance at the Tule Lake relocation center in November, 1943, led to his call for military control over the facility. By 1944, he had become so pessimistic over the problem that he urged that the Japanese never again "be allowed to congregate in California. The feeling against them is so intense that I really believe it would be dangerous."⁸² His preoccupation with Tule Lake allowed his other projects to languish. "I got behind in a lot of things I want to do while fighting the W.R.A. [War Relocation Authority] and the Japs at Tule Lake," he wrote during Christmas, 1943. "I think I can do more good if I stay on the job back here and keep after some of these things."⁸³

Engle also kept in close touch with the political situation in his district. One Republican whose name kept coming up in his correspondence was State Senator Randolph Collier of Yreka, who was quietly lining up Republican support to challenge Engle. James K. Carr, son of Judge Carr and assistant regional manager of the Bureau of Reclamation in Sacramento, suggested that Engle place a power plant near the Klamath River ore-concentration plant. "The thought occurred to me," he wrote, "that if you were successful in getting that plant for the Yreka country you could create political havoc in 'Randy' Collier's back yard."⁸⁴ Engle replied that he would "put in a plug" for the plant.⁸⁵

This preoccupation with Collier proved unnecessary as the latter failed to unite district Republicans behind him and stepped aside in favor of Jesse Mayo in February, 1944. On March 2, 1944, Engle opened his reelection bid and filed in both Democratic and Republican primaries under the cross-filing provisions of the time. In speeches, he stressed his committee assignments and performance to date. He collaborated closely with Joseph P. Hall, publisher of the *California Mining Journal*, on political advertising, and Hall also sent in optimistic reports on his strength in each county, referring to Mayo as "Little Jess" and "the gutless wonder."⁸⁶ For his part, Engle depicted Mayo as the candidate of the large mining outfits and predicted that "if Mayo is elected the iron ore survey will probably be deadlier than a dodo."⁸⁷

Engle's campaign operated smoothly until early May when an issue arose that threatened to tear his political base apart. This was the decades-long struggle between Shasta and Tehama counties over dam construction on the Sacramento River at either Iron Canyon or Table Mountain. Engle had previously associated himself with Arthur Lee Conard's dream to construct a flood control dam north of Red Bluff, but Judge Carr and his organization thwarted all efforts at state and federal authorization. Such construction, Carr claimed, would destroy thousands of acres in the southern part of his county. This long festering dispute burst open when an omnibus flood control bill reached the House floor with a provision authorizing dam construction at Table Mountain. When alternative proposals



Engle won the right to represent the Second Congressional District, the largest in the nation excluding Nevada, in the special election of 1943. House Speaker Sam Rayburn (at right), who later became a political and personal friend, administered the oath of office.

were rejected, Engle found himself torn between the Conard and Carr positions, but his loyalty to Tehama County tilted him toward the former. He hoped to ease Shasta County's disappointment by specifying that the dam be low-level in order to minimize land destruction.⁸⁸

On May 9, Engle voted for the omnibus flood control bill and rushed home to meet the expected explosion. Upon his arrival in Red Bluff, he learned that Judge Carr was holding a meeting of the Shasta Democrats in his law office. He telephoned the meeting and pleaded for party loyalty and a chance to explain his vote. Carr was unmoved, and in an unprecedented action, the central committee withdrew its support from Engle and backed Jesse Mayo, who quickly expressed opposition to the Table Mountain Dam. Carr declared that the proposed dam would destroy his county, and he had word sent to neighboring counties asking that the local Democrats drop Engle.⁸⁹

On May 16, the primary election demonstrated that the Table Mountain controversy failed to grip voters elsewhere in the district. The Sacramento River was not of compelling importance to those counties not in direct contact with it. Engle had carefully directed his attention to the more urgent needs of other sections and thereby neutralized Mayo's constituency in the mountain counties. Additionally, his incumbent status inevitably worked in his favor. His overall strength was shown in his total of 30,140 votes to Mayo's 17,909, but he failed to capture the Republican nomination by a mere 1,224 votes, thus sending the race into the general election.⁹⁰

The primary election results made Engle more confident of his position in the Second District, and he also hoped that Shasta County's bitterness could be assuaged by the confirmation of a steel alloy plant near Redding.⁹¹ The Shasta picture changed overnight when Judge Carr died of a heart attack on August 21, 1944, and Engle later delivered a gracious tribute to the old Democratic warhorse on the House floor. A month later, the Shasta County Democratic Central Committee returned to the Engle camp without endorsing his stand on the Table Mountain Dam. With Mayo groping ineffectively in the mountain counties, the election concluded on November 7, and Engle won decisively with 48,201 votes to 27,312 votes.⁹² He captured every county except Alpine and Calaveras, and his political base in northern California was at last secure. At the age of thirty-three, he had become the dominant political force in the north state, a position he was to hold for twenty years. It was not long before the Second District became known as "Engle's Empire."

And thus began Clair Engle's fabulous career in state and national politics. His rise to political prominence was a self-learning process. He had realized his capacity for opportunism, ruthlessness, and narrowmindedness in the acquisition of power; but as his brief term in the state legislature hinted—and he demonstrated in Congress—he also exhibited a careful handling of public office, independence, and a capacity for growth that might have led to statesmanship. He was utilitarian in his approach to economic, moral, and social issues, and he saw himself as a compromiser, a broker of competing interests for the common good. His extraordinary political and legislative skills were developed and honed as he climbed the political ladder, and many friends thought that his future included a place on a national Democratic ticket in the 1970's.⁹³ These early years of political triumph, however, exacted a heavy price in familial relationships. Engle's horizons had exceeded Hazel's, and they would eventually divorce. He would then marry an attractive and talented politico, Lucretia Caldwell of San Jose, who would be a perfect complement to his ambitions. Yet, if at the end, Clair Engle had not achieved greatness, it was not that he was unprepared, but that fate had tragically struck him down at the height of his powers.

THE PHOTOGRAPH on page 301 (left) is courtesy Mrs. Buena King of Fort Lauderdale; on page 301 (right) Judge Curtiss C. Wetter of Red Bluff; on page 304 (right), Mr. Lawrence W. Carr of Redding; on page 309 (right), Robert McKechnie of Alameda; on page 309 (left), Mrs. Constance Metzger of Red Bluff; on page 311, San Francisco Public Library, Special Collections. All other material is in the possession of the author.

NOTES

1. Ted Heslip, Interview, July 10, 1972.
2. Paul S. Taylor, "The Excess Land Law: Legislative Erosion of Public Policy," *Rocky Mountain Law Review*, 30:499-506 (1958); Robert C. Fellmeth, *Power and Land in California: The Ralph Nader Task Force Report on Land Use in the State of California*. Vol. 1 (Washington, D. C. Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 1971), III:48-51.
3. Elmo Richardson, *Dams, Parks & Politics: Resource Development and Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973), p. 147.
4. Fred and Carita Engle, "Our Baby," a memory book of Clair Engle, 1911-12.
5. Frank Paselk, Interview, August 29, 1972; G. R. Milford, Interview, November 17, 1972; George C. Simpson, Interview, June 29, 1972; Frances Brewer, Interview, June 29, 1972; Jesse D. Stockton to Stephen Sayles, June 25, 1972.
6. Tehama County, *Deeds*, Book 109, p. 90.
7. George J. Hofhenke, Interview, March 15, 1972; Mrs. C. A. Bonetti, Interview, May 19, 1972; Mrs. W. C. Boyce, Interview, May 19, 1972; Leone Andrews, Interview, April 20, 1972.
8. Mrs. Fred J. Engle, Jr., Interview, June 28, 1974; Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, July 20, 1974; Jesse D. Stockton, Interview, July 28, 1972.
9. "New Faces," *The New Republic*, October 27, 1958, p. 10.
10. Paul F. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," *The Saturday Evening Post*, March 12, 1955, p. 60; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.
11. Emmitt J. Nickles, Interview, June 16, 1972; Charles H. Porter, Interview, July 19, 1972; James C. Bunting, Interview, April 13, 1972; Frances Brewer, Interview, June 29, 1972; George J. Hofhenke, Interview, March 15, 1972; Mrs. Fred J. Engle, Jr., Interview, December 27, 1973; D. Walter Bunting, Interview, May 8, 1972.
12. Lona Knedler, Interview, July 6, 1972; Constance Crowder Arrowsmith, Interview, June 29, 1972; Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Richelieu, Interview, June 19, 1972; Dr. Gene Maxey, Interview,

May 16, 1972; Milton Hull, Interview, June 5, 1972; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Foster, Interview, September 23, 1972; Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972.

13. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, June 10, 1972; Constance Crowder Arrowsmith, Interview, June 29, 1972.

14. Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972; R. R. Hartzell to Sayles, June 7, 1972; Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972.

15. Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972.

16. Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972.

17. Lona Knedler, Interview, July 6, 1972; Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, January 8, 1974; June 10, 1972; John R. Bunting to Sayles, August 11, 1972; August 15, 1972; John H. Hill to Sayles, August 11, 1972; Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972; *The Bluffer*, January 25, 1928.

18. R. R. Hartzell to Sayles, June 17, 1972.

19. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.

20. *Dictum Est* (1928), n.p.

21. Andrew J. Osbourne, Interview, March 30, 1972.

22. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, June 10, 1972; Eleanor F. Yapundich, "Charles Edson Caldwell: A Man Ahead of His Time," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Sacramento State College, 1972), pp. 5-16.

23. Engle was a Methodist and Caldwell a Presbyterian. Engle's early religious fervor had waned by the early 1930's. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, July 17, 1972.

24. Clair Engle to Martha Ann ("Mattie") Keeran, June 20, 1932.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, February 15, 1972; Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1972.

27. Clair Engle to Martha Ann ("Mattie") Keeran, n.d.

28. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972; Stanley Pugh to Sayles, December 11, 1972; James N. Froome, Interview, June 5, 1972; Milton Hull, Interview, June 5, 1972; Ray D. Siler, Interview, March 6, 1972; Bruce A. Werlauf to Sayles, July 21, 1972.

29. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

30. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.

31. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

32. *Ibid.*; Mosher to Sayles, November 21, 1972; Buena King to Sayles, August 7, 1972.

33. Fred J. Engle, III, Interview, October 11, 1972; Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, September 11, 1972. Although he did not provide details about the meeting, Judge Wetter said that Engle "demanded" that he support him and that he responded by laughing at Engle. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

36. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972.

37. Thomas J. McGlynn, Interview, August 13, 1972. Judge Wetter concurs that such an incident occurred, but he provided no details. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

38. *Corning Observer*, November 1, 1934; November 5, 1934; *Gerber Star*, November 1, 1934.

39. *Red Bluff Daily News*, October 27, 1934; *Index of Registration for Tehama County*, September 27, 1934.

40. Buena King to Sayles, August 7, 1972; Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

41. *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., A3755; Phillip P. Dickinson to Miss Bessie Sanders, January 6, 1964. Dickinson was technical assistant to Senator Engle.

42. Judge Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972; John L. Moran, Interview, August 17, 1972.

43. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972. However, Judge Moor concedes that it may be possible, but he has no clear personal recollection, of having talked with Curtiss E. Wetter about establishing himself in Corning. Judge Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.

44. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972.

45. Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972; William H. Bulkeley, Interview, May 30, 1972.

46. James N. Froome, Interview, June 5, 1972; Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.

47. Letter from Chief Justice Earl Warren, November 30, 1972.

48. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.
49. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974; Chet Derby, Interview, June 28, 1972; Albert V. Hornbeck, Interview, December 22, 1975; Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.
50. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974.
51. Chet Derby, Interview, June 28, 1972.
52. Stanley Pugh to Sayles, December 11, 1972.
53. Hayden Saunders, Interview, July 14, 1972.
54. Clair Engle to Jesse W. Carter, December 30, 1938. Quoted by permission of the director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
55. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974.
56. Clara McKechnie Parker, Interview, March 6, 1974.
57. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972.
58. George Dryselt, Interview, July 18, 1972.
59. *Ibid.*
60. John H. Hill to Sayles, July 8, 1972; Reverend Norman B. Callaway, Interview, July 8, 1972; C. Dale Pickell, Interview, August 17, 1972; William H. Bulkeley, Interview, May 30, 1972.
61. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.
62. *Corning Observer*, August 6, 1972.
63. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972.
64. Tehama County Supervisor's Minutes, Vol. W., *Statement of the Vote of Tehama County, Direct Primary Election Held August 25, 1942*, 1; *Corning Observer*, August 27, 1942.
65. Arthur H. Samish and Bob Thomas, *The Secret Boss of California: The Life & Times of Art Samish* (New York: Crown Publishing, Inc., 1971), p. 121.
66. Edward H. Dickson to Sayles, September 6, 1972.
67. Carl Fischer, Interview, July 22, 1972.
68. Richard H. Rodda to Sayles, September 11, 1972; Harry Jackson Englebright, Interview, August 9, 1972.
69. Richard H. Rodda to Sayles, September 11, 1972.
70. Edward H. Dickson to Sayles, September 6, 1972.
71. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972; Hayden Saunders, Interview, July 14, 1972.
72. Vernon Ryan, Interview, November 13, 1972.
73. *Ibid.*; Daniel S. Carlton, Interview, July 28, 1972; Ryan to Sayles, November 30, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.
74. Representative Harold T. ("Bizz") Johnson to Sayles, May 31, 1972.
75. Engle spent only \$937.37 on his campaign, with two-thirds going for traveling expenses. Clair Engle's Campaign Expenditure Statement, August 31, 1943. Also, Earl C. Behrens, "Race for Congress: Democrats Set Up Large Fund to Win the Englebright Seat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 1, 1943.
76. *Corning Observer*, July 20, 1943; *Feather River Bulletin*, July 22, 1943.
77. *Siskiyou Daily News*, August 26, 1943.
78. Clara McKechnie Parker, Interview, May 6, 1972; *Red Bluff Daily News*, August 27, 1943.
79. *Statement of the Vote*, Second Congressional District, August 31, 1943.
80. Clair Engle to J. C. Kempvanc, January 18, 1944.
81. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, March 18, 1944.
82. *Corning Observer*, January 6, 1944.
83. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, December 19, 1943.
84. James K. Carr to Clair Engle, October 13, 1943.
85. Clair Engle to James K. Carr, October 16, 1943.
86. J. P. Hall to Clair Engle, March 25, 1944.
87. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, March 18, 1944.
88. *Redding Record-Searchlight*, May 15, 1944.
89. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1944.
90. *Statement of the Vote*, Consolidated Primary Election, Special State Election, and Special Election Eighth Senatorial District, May 16, 1944, 8.
91. Clair Engle to Paul Bodenhamer, August 19, 1944; Engle to J. P. Hall, August 31, 1944.
92. *Statement of the Vote*, General Election, November 7, 1944, 8.
93. Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 1, 1972.

New Almaden's Casa Grande

PHYLLIS F. BUTLER

*Author of a new publication, The Valley of Santa Clara:
Historic Buildings, 1792-1920, a survey of extant historic buildings.*

MANY CALIFORNIA TOWNS HAVE HAD THEIR "CASA GRANDES," but none has been more surprisingly elegant than the mansion designed by General Henry Halleck for New Almaden. About fifteen miles south of San Jose where the Almaden road narrows to a country lane, the large, handsome house marks the entrance to the old "Hacienda," standing as living proof of the forgotten hamlet's past glory as the first and richest mine in California. Reminiscent of a colonial manor house, Casa Grande has a history, however, as enigmatic as the remarkable man who built it.

When Captain Henry Wager Halleck assumed his duties as director general of the New Almaden mine in 1850, he found New Almaden a primitive Mexican mining camp. Immediately, the brilliant West Point soldier took steps to organize an efficient operation, replacing archaic whaling pots with six brick furnaces to reduce the natural cinnabar or mercuric sulfide to quicksilver or mercury. (Quicksilver was used to extract gold and silver from ore or, when further processed, as a detonator in explosives.) By April, 1852, Halleck also began erecting a large range of brick buildings to replace the old frame shelters dotting the site.¹

Halleck visited the mine every two weeks, traveling back and forth from the San Francisco office he shared with his law partners, Archibald Peachy and Frederick Billings.² Their highly successful law firm, Halleck, Peachy, and Billings, moved to Halleck's bold Montgomery Block in December of 1853 when it was completed; the impressive structure was the largest building in the West, and it earned the name "Halleck's Folly" for its grandiose design.³

When he stayed at New Almaden, Halleck shared quarters with the resident superintendent, John Young, a former coast trader and sailing master. Young became a major stockholder in the mine after the death of his father-in-law, Robert Walkinshaw, who had arrived at New Almaden from Mexico in 1847 to be the first mine manager for Barron, Forbes & Company, which owned the controlling interest in the mine.

Work probably began on Casa Grande after September, 1852, when Halleck's law firm, having received a \$30,000 retainer fee from the New Almaden Company, filed petition on their behalf with the U.S. Land Commission, based on Barron, Forbes & Company's claim to the mine. This British mercantile firm

which operated out of Tepic, Mexico, had first acquired an interest in the mine in 1846 from Andrés Castillero, a captain in the Mexican cavalry who had officially registered the mine in late 1845. Since there was no representative of the Federal (Mexican) Division of Mines in California—which was still part of Mexico—the documents were filed with local officials in San Jose.⁴ As construction of a house and possession of the land were most crucial to establishing a land title, Casa Grande symbolized the permanency and stability of the Barron-Forbes interest, as well as serving as a hotel for shareholders visiting the mine.

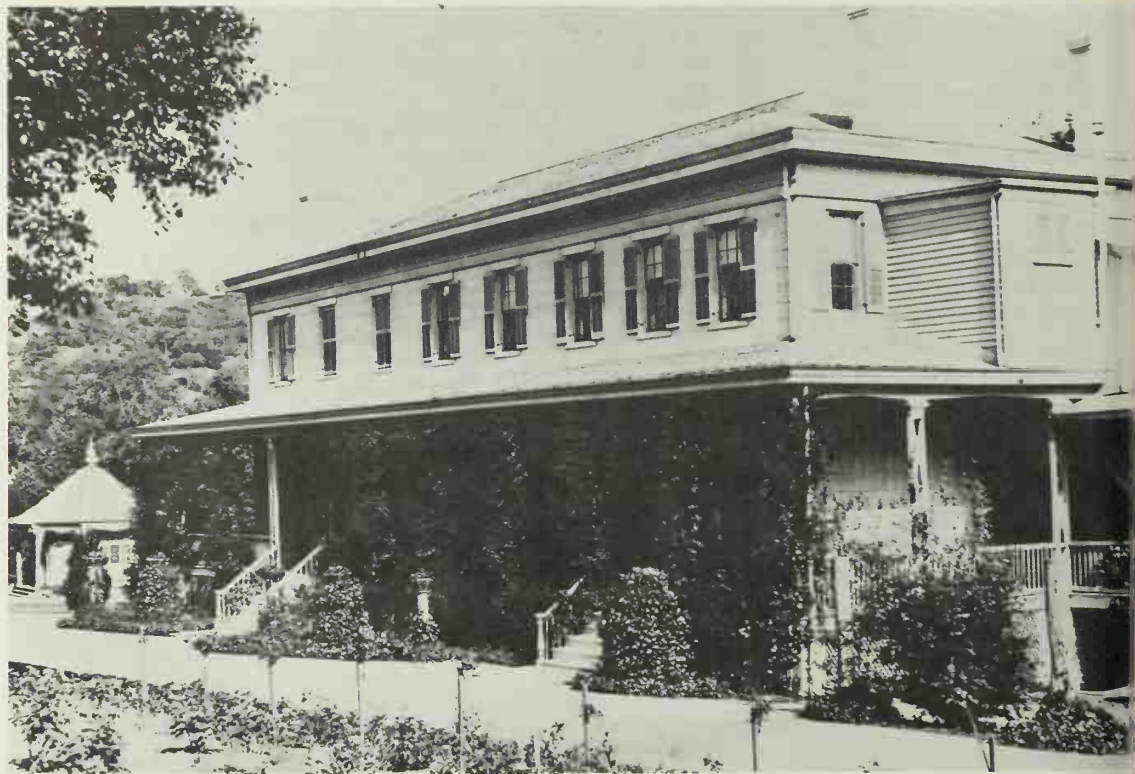
Halleck designed the stately three-story, twenty-seven-room building, which



When Captain Henry Halleck (left) assumed his duties as director general of the New Almaden mine in 1850, he found New Almaden a primitive Mexican mining camp.

OPPOSITE: Casa Grande's fashionable Chinese-style gazebo lent an illusion of gentility to the "Hacienda," but in the 1860's the mining camp on the hill was still a haven for fugitives.

Casa Grande's fortress-like foundation, two-foot-thick walls, and sheltered veranda with slender, ornamented wood columns are typical of the architecture favored by Halleck. The 27-room building with its gazebo (at left) was some 25-years-old when this photo was taken c. 1880.



was completed late in 1854 or early 1855, in the classic revival style that dominated major California architecture in the 1850's. Architect Gordon Cummings who made the final plans for Halleck's Montgomery Block may have had a hand in its design as well; the two buildings are closely related in style.⁵ However, the fortress-like foundations, two-foot-thick unadorned brick walls, and sheltered veranda with its slender wooden columns are typical of the federal architecture that Halleck favored.

In 1854 Halleck resigned from the army and returned to his native state of New York to become engaged to Elizabeth Hamilton, sister of his former West Point roommate Schuyler Hamilton, whom Halleck had left in charge as administrator at the New Almaden mine. Following Halleck's marriage in Manhattan at the estate which once belonged to Elizabeth's grandfather, Alexander Hamilton, the Hallecks returned to San Francisco where they made their home on fashionable Rincon Hill.⁶

It is unlikely that the aristocratic Elizabeth spent more than "country weekends" (*de rigueur* for wealthy San Franciscans of the late 1850's) at Casa Grande. The Mexican camp on the hill was still a haven for fugitives from what seemed to native Californians as arbitrary American justice, and knifings and murder were a frequent occurrence at the camp.⁷

Casa Grande, however, became headquarters for mining company partners who often gathered to relax and concoct the extravagant dealings which placed them among the most powerful men in San Francisco. New Almaden's major



stockholders included merchant princes Eustaquio Barron (who lived in Mexico) and his cousin William E. Barron. Other partners were John Parrott, United States consul at Mazatlán at the outbreak of the Mexican War and the leading banker of San Francisco, and James R. Bolton, former acting United States consul at Mazatlán who made a fortune in the notorious Santillan claim to Mission Dolores. Captain John Young, the resident mine superintendent, also lived "like a prince" at Casa Grande with his wife Maxima Walkinshaw Young and her bevy of beautiful half-Spanish, half-Scottish sisters.⁸

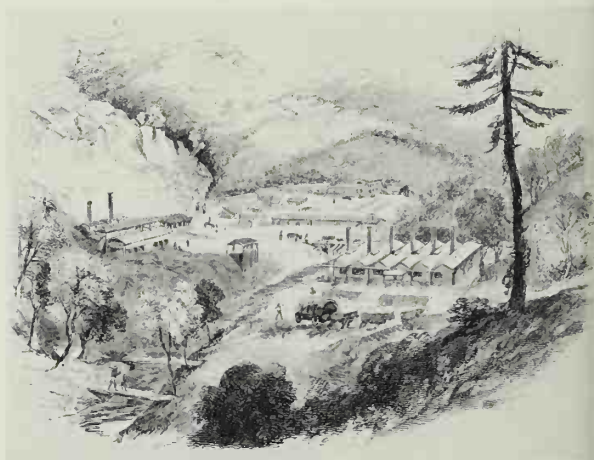
Halleck, who was never a shareholder in the mine, grew in prominence in San Francisco business circles as a leading land lawyer and president of the proposed Pacific and Atlantic Railroad. He continued to collect a \$500 monthly salary as director general of New Almaden, while his law firm collected the fees for the mine's monumental legal work.

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Halleck, who had distinguished himself by gallant conduct in the Mexican War, was commissioned major general in the Army. On October 10, 1861, San Francisco paid the reserved Halleck farewell tribute with a thirteen-gun salute as he, his wife, and his five-year-old son sailed out the Golden Gate bound for Washington, D.C., where Halleck was assigned to succeed General Frémont as head of the Department of Missouri.⁹

In July of 1862 General Halleck, whose books on national defense and laws of war were highly regarded in the capital, was appointed general-in-chief of all land forces. Within months, however, controversial verbal attacks over his conduct of duties made Halleck, in the words of his old friend General William Sherman, "the most unpopular man in Washington."¹⁰ The great esteem he held among Californians is difficult to reconcile with the reputedly indecisive, pedantic Halleck of the Civil War years.



By 1852, Halleck had modernized the New Almaden operation (below), replacing frame shelters with brick buildings and whaling pots with brick furnaces. Men (left, descending shaft) mined cinnabar which was reduced to quicksilver or mercury.



The New Almaden mine operation on Mine Hill, the first mine in California, is now part of a Santa Clara County park. Photo by Lee Foster.



When General Halleck returned to command the Department of the Pacific at San Francisco in 1865, he was understandably "happy to be home." The day after his arrival a crowd of a thousand people gathered as the military band "serenaded" outside the Occidental Hotel where the general was staying.¹¹

During Halleck's absence, the mine had been closed pending litigation from 1859 to 1861 and later operated under the direction of Sherman Day. Secondary legal cases and appeals regarding the ownership of the mine had continued to grind through the courts, and with the advent of the Civil War the largely British partners in the New Almaden Company suddenly capitulated and sold out on August 26, 1863, to the Quicksilver Mining Company, an eastern firm that had already acquired a neighboring rancho and mining operation. Halleck visited New Almaden occasionally after his return, but the mine was in the hands of the Quicksilver Mining Company whose former company president, Samuel F. Butterworth, acted as general agent and manager.

Sam Butterworth and his wife Mary lived at Casa Grande for two years before they moved to San Francisco where their two daughters became noted society belles. The reportedly beautiful girls married into the city's most influential clans; Blanche became the wife of Louis T. Haggin, son of James Ben Ali Haggin, a Kentucky-born millionaire and partner of Lloyd Tevis, president of Wells Fargo. Tevis and Haggin were among the foremost capitalists of the city in the latter 1800's.¹² Busy in San Francisco, Butterworth turned over the local management of the mine to his wife's nephew, Dr. James A. Nowland, who also served as the resident physician.¹³

During the sixties, Casa Grande, still owned and managed by the mining company, became a chic resort hotel. Parties of "nobs" arrived after a five-hour train and stage trip from San Francisco to spend a fortnight sitting on the broad veranda, sipping the popular Almaden Vichy Water, and delighting in the picturesqueness of the camp. A noted writer of the time enthused over the "romantic" spot in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, remarking in 1865 that the Hacienda (as Casa Grande was called then) had "appointments in excellent taste—simple and rural yet convenient and elegant."¹⁴

When Samuel Butterworth decided to retire in 1870, he recommended that his nephew, James Butterworth Randol, succeed him as general manager at New Almaden. The young New Yorker, who had been secretary of the Quicksilver Mining Company since its incorporation, brought the then declining mine



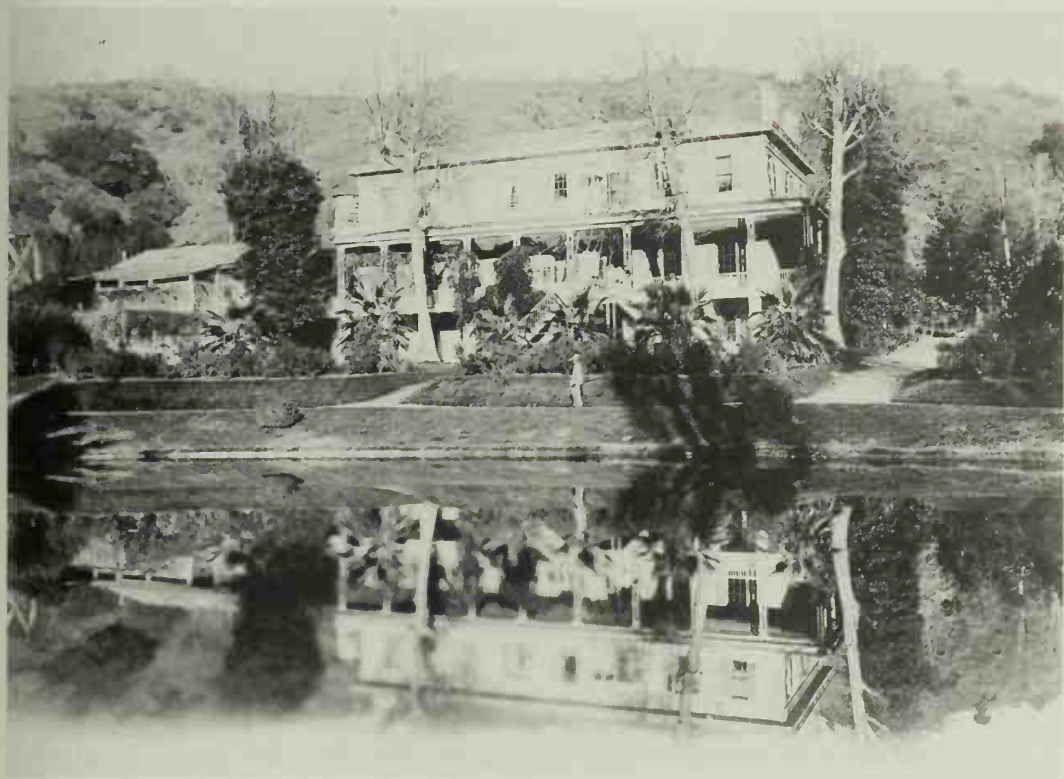
The company town of New Almaden became a picturesque and widely talked-about model town under the leadership of James B. Randol. Streets and cottages were kept trim and newly painted (above, photo c. 1917), and an adobe store (below, photo c. 1870) served the mines' employees and their families.



Under Randol's management, Los Alamitos Creek was diverted to make a lovely reflecting lake at the rear of the Hacienda (photo c. 1890), and landscaping further enhanced Casa Grande's picturesque setting.

back to reach its peak production. In 1887 it paid over a million dollars in dividends to its stockholders. Under Randol's strict supervision the village and townspeople blossomed, too. The humanitarian manager instituted generous health and welfare plans for the mines' employees and their families. Roadways and cottages were kept trim and newly painted, with cuttings from Casa Grande's five acres of garden made available to inhabitants to turn New Almaden into a picturesque and widely talked-about model town.¹⁵

Apparently dispensing with the hotel operation at Casa Grande, Randol in time enhanced the already imposing appearance of the residence. Los Alamitos Creek was diverted to provide a large private lake on the property and extensive landscaping further enhanced its appearance. But, evidently, Christina Randol was never happy at New Almaden, even in the refurbished Casa Grande. Longing for her family and friends in the East, she left the mine in 1887 shortly after the departure of her sister and brother-in-law, the Robert Burnett Smiths, who



had lived with the Randols at Casa Grande for three or four years while Smith acted as company accountant. In 1888, perhaps hoping to lure Christina and their five children back to New Almaden, Randol thoroughly remodeled the mansion, installing a gymnasium for his sons William and Frederick and enlarging the nursery for the younger children Elizabeth and Garrey. The plan was apparently successful for the Randols returned to New Almaden and lived there until "J. B." retired in 1892.¹⁶

Former company cashier Robert R. Bulmore then assumed the company's general agentship, and he moved his family into Casa Grande. They remained there until the turn of the century, when the mine's famous cinnabar seemed to have been depleted. The company declared bankruptcy in 1912, Casa Grande was abandoned, and for the next several years it remained a white elephant. In the 1920's the once stately mansion became a roadhouse-hotel, and in the thirties, striptease dancers performed in the ballroom as well as the upstairs rooms. Since that time a variety of enterprises, best described as "honky-tonk," have operated at Casa Grande, but they have been completely out of character with the home's historic past.

The County of Santa Clara hopes to raise funds to restore the house to its former elegance for use as a visitors center for the recently acquired county park on nearby Mine Hill. At present the elegant Casa Grande stands empty, full only of memories.

NOTES

1. John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Exploration and Incidents in California 1850-1858* (New York), 2:57.
2. H. W. Halleck testimony in *U.S. vs. Castillero* transcript (1860), 1:326-28.
3. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino, 1960), p. 56; Idwal Jones, *Ark of Empire* (New York, 1951).
4. William R. Hutton, *Glances at California 1847-1853* (San Marino, 1942), diary entry for August, 1852; *U.S. vs. Castillero* transcript, 1:326-28; Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine* (Georgetown, California, 1963), pp. 17-19. In 1852 Hutton was surveying at New Almaden.
5. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, 56.
6. *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Schuyler Hamilton," 2:91; Milton H. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 16:199 (1937).
7. Monro-Fraser, "Homicides," in *History of Santa Clara County* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 220-25.
8. Santa Clara County Miscellaneous Record Book, B-121; William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1861-1864* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 157-58.
9. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck," 200.
10. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), 1:282.
11. *Alta California*, August 27, 1865.
12. Amelia R. Neville, *The Fantastic City* (San Francisco, 1932), p. 185.
13. Biographical sketch, Record of Sarah Amis Lyman, in *California Historical Society*, San Francisco.
14. J. Ross Browne, "Down at the Cinnabar Mines," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 31:546-47 (July, 1865).
15. "A Contested Election in California," reprinted from *San Jose Daily Mercury*, Santa Clara County, 1887.
16. *City Directories* for San Jose and San Francisco, 1870-1895.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on pages 316 (bottom), 318 (right), 320 (bottom), and 322 are in the author's collection. The photos on pages 316 (top), 317, 318 (left), 320 (top), and 321 are in the Society's collection. The photo on page 319 is courtesy Lee Foster.



After the mine's bankruptcy in 1912, the elegant Casa Grande housed a variety of honky-tonk enterprises. It now awaits funds for restoration as a visitors' center to the Mine Hill county park.

The Land Business of Thomas O. Larkin

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MASSACHUSETTS'S SONS PLAYED A LEADING ROLE in California's trade from the last decade of the eighteenth century until statehood was achieved. The shipping firms of William Sturgis (later Bryant & Sturgis and still later William Appleton & Co.), J. & T. H. Perkins & Co., James Hunnewell, Andrew Cabot, James and Henry Lee, Abiel and Jonathan Winship, Marshall & Wildes, and Boardman & Pope, all of Boston, were attracted to the coast by the great quantities of hides needed by New England's rapidly growing industry and by the supplies of tallow and furs, especially sea otter fur, available on the Pacific Coast.¹ Evasion of licensing regulations and customs duties was common in this trade, which included carrying furs from California and Oregon and sandalwood from the Sandwich Islands to China, where they were exchanged for the exotic goods from the Orient at Canton. More than a dozen of the chief traders on the California coast had come as ships' captains, supercargoes, or seaman. Best known of these Bostonians was Richard Henry Dana, Jr., who arrived in Santa Barbara early in 1835 and remained in the region for more than a year representing the China trading firm of Bryant & Sturgis in exchanging Yankee notions for hides and tallow. His *Two Years Before the Mast* is almost as important for the light it throws on trade in California as for its fascinating detail about life aboard sailing ships of the time. Dana's twentieth-century editor says that he was persuaded to delete or moderate some of his criticisms of the trade, "perhaps in deference to the feelings of Messrs. Bryant, Sturgis and Co.," especially his "account of stratagems used to confuse and mislead the Mexican customs officers . . . and of some smuggling engaged in. . . ." In a letter to his father of December, 1835, Dana spoke more candidly of English and American traders, as follows:

They go on, making money by selling diluted rum and brandy to the Spaniards and Indians, at a *Real* (12½ cents) per glass; cheating the customs, stealing horses and cattle, breaking the Sabbath, marrying and bringing up children to go and do likewise. As is generally the case, the Foreigners excel the natives in following the vices of the country.²

Dana elected to leave California, but three other Boston men who were associated with Bryant & Sturgis took up permanent residence and entered into the trade between their native city and the West Coast and the Sandwich Islands on an extensive scale. William Sturgis Hinckley was a member of the prominent Sturgis family who became a Mexican citizen, married into a Mexican family, was twice arrested for smuggling, and yet was given a place in the official hierarchy. Alfred Robinson, one of the oldest and perhaps the most respected Yankee pioneer, contributed an account of *Life in California* which throws much light on



Boldly grouped in commercial solidarity are five merchant princes who came to own a large chunk of California. Larkin (center, seated), perhaps one of the wealthiest men in the nation, is flanked by Jacob P. Leese (left), who secured Mexican citizenship to qualify for land grants, and W. D. M. Howard (right), a Massachusetts-born entrepreneur. Standing are Samuel Brannan (right), a storekeeper who became one of California's wealthiest real estate millionaires, and a man who may be Talbot H. Green (left), who worked for Larkin and became prosperous and politically active before being recognized as a defaulting bank clerk from Pennsylvania living under an assumed name.

the amusements of the *Californios*. Henry Mellus, who came out on the same vessel with Richard Henry Dana, became one of the richest San Francisco traders. Other Massachusetts men who built up fortunes from trade and shipping included Abel Stearns, who used his profits to create the largest landed estate held by a naturalized alien, W. D. M. Howard (a partner of Henry Mellus), Faxon Dean Atherton, Nathan Spear, Daniel Hill, John Temple, and William Goodwin Dana.³ All were shrewd businessmen who knew well what they could afford to pay for hides and how they could best purchase supplies and goods to advantage in Boston. Six of these men took out Mexican citizenship and married into the aristocracy of Mexican California—the Bandini, Carrillo, Cota, de la Guerra, Martinez, and Ortega families—thus enabling them to avoid severe penalties for their evasion of customs duties and to accumulate large land grants.

One of the most interesting of the dozen Massachusetts men who remained in California to make a fortune was Thomas O. Larkin. He arrived in California in 1832 with less education and fewer resources than most of the others, neither gave up his American citizenship nor married into the local aristocracy, yet was to have the greatest impact of all the men upon the growing center of Americanism on the coast. It was Larkin who, while American consul at Monterey and while building up his own fortune, quietly attempted to dissipate anti-American feeling and to checkmate the activities of those people who looked to England rather than the United States for leadership. Trying to win the confidence of responsible Mexican leaders, he became convinced that American acquisition of California could be achieved through peaceful means because of the friendly relations he and other former residents of the United States had established with them and because of the weakness and ineptitude of their own officials who were proving unable to deal adequately with any of the important problems of government. By 1846, after war broke out, Larkin moved "heaven and earth to accomplish annexation . . . by peaceful means," says one writer. He was greatly troubled by the drastic action of Frémont and the Bear Flag group and the turmoil that followed. Probably no American was regarded as favorably as Larkin by responsible Californians. Of the twelve influential businessmen from Massachusetts, only Larkin and Stearns were elected to serve in the constitutional convention in 1849 and gave their time to its deliberations. Josiah Royce, the philosopher-historian who produced an important history, *California from the Conquest to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco*, is violently prejudiced in spots, but we may accept his judgment that Larkin was "foremost among the men who won for us California. . . ."⁴

Larkin's precious collection of letters has been published by the University of California Press in ten amazingly useful volumes, plus index volume, and each is accompanied by a valuable introduction by George P. Hammond. The letters constitute a prime source for the study of the commerce of Mexican California and the various economic and political forces that culminated in the revolt against the local Mexican administrators and the acquisition of California for the United States.⁵ Larkin's career was intertwined with that event, and an exploration of his financial activities and land business sheds light on the role of trading, buying, and selling goods and land in the early California economy.

Prior to moving to California, Thomas O. Larkin, of old Massachusetts stock, lived for ten years in North Carolina where he engaged in various commercial activities, none of which won him wealth or social position. Dissatisfied with his lack of success, at the age of thirty he was persuaded by his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, to come to Mexican California to aid him in conducting his successful shipping and trading operations centered at Monterey. In 1833, a year after his arrival, Larkin set himself up in the commission business and with capital of \$500 opened a general store for the sale of "groceries, grog, produce, and dry goods." Soon he was operating a small flour mill and a soap factory, as well as dealing in lumber. His major receipts in this money-short economy were in the form of hides. Recognizing early that favors to leading Mexican officials might be returned with large profit to himself, he slyly managed to evade Mexican duties which were heavy but rarely enforced. Larkin's combination of Yankee shrewd-

ness, imaginative business talents, and closeness in money matters soon enabled him to accumulate considerable capital. His confidence that it was California's destiny to become a part of the United States led him shrewdly to invest his profits from trading and shipping in cattle ranchos and in San Francisco city lots before they started their swift rise in value.⁶

Joseph Revere may well have had Larkin in mind when he described the business in hides as he saw it in 1846 in Monterey and elsewhere. The goods that Boston merchants sent out to exchange for hides included "assorted cargoes of plain cottons, prints, handkerchiefs, shoes, hats, coarse woolens, hardware, fancy goods and, in short, specimens of all the cheapest fabrics of Lowell, Lynn and Marblehead, and a plentiful supply of the auction trash of Boston." The goods were then peddled "at most enormous profits, justified to the awfully shaved purchaser by the well-salted invoices, and monstrous duties paid to the honest officials." For example, Revere observed, "a piece of coarse Lowell 'Manta,' or unbleached muslin, costing at home not over three dollars, was spared to the rancher for twenty dollars, and other things in the same fair proportion." After the *Matanza* (the annual slaughtering of cattle), the traders demanded the hides at moderate prices to meet payments on the debts the rancheros had accumulated in drawing supplies.⁷ Another contemporary observer reported that with few exceptions the rancheros were deeply in debt to American merchants, altogether to the tune of a half million dollars, which could only be met by the sale of their cattle, their only means of subsistence, or, as subsequent events were to show, by the mortgage or sale of their ranchos.⁸ In this way, then, Yankee traders established and then extended their influence in Mexican California.

From his first business ventures the Yankee trader Larkin prospered. Even in 1843, when trade generally in California was "very bad" and "Farmers & Traders very much in debt," he had "a vast amt." due him, and he admitted to fellow Massachusetts-born businessman Faxon Dean Atherton that he was "getting rich in houses, debts & produce."⁸ In fact, his ledgers carefully show the annual accumulation of his wealth from 1835 to 1846 as follows:¹⁰

1835	\$ 2,650	1841	\$21,493
1836	4,708	1842	37,958
1837	5,626	1843	49,147
1838	11,013	1844	46,505
1839	13,788	1845	60,175
1840	15,895	1846	66,644

Larkin's prominence in the commercial life of the province, his strong Americanism and apparent disinclination to give up his citizenship in order to marry into native families and acquire grants—as did many Americans and British subjects—and his informative letters to James Buchanan, the *New York Sun*, and the *New York Herald* may have been responsible for his appointment as American consul at Monterey in 1844. The post brought him no salary and perhaps only modest fees.¹¹ It did, however, add to his growing prestige and afford him greater prominence that proved useful in his expanding trade. With the acquisition of California by the United States, Larkin's consulate lapsed, but his familiarity with business leaders led to his appointment as a government "confidential agent" in

1847 and later as navy agent with a salary of \$2,000. While holding this position Larkin was billing the United States the amount of \$4,420 for the use of the wharf at Monterey for four months, supplying great quantities of bread to naval vessels stationed at that port, and making big purchases for Frémont and other United States officers at his usual percentages. On delayed payments he expected 24 per cent interest. Reflective of Larkin's business operations, Commodore James Biddle seemed to think the amount Larkin charged for the wharf was for its purchase, not for rent. At the same time Larkin, as the recent purchaser of the Benito Diaz two-league Punta de Lobos claim in present San Francisco, was protesting that government forces were occupying his property and tearing down some while repairing other buildings in the Presidio. He demanded compensation for such occupancy and partial destruction.¹²

Clearly, Larkin was not content to become rich only through commerce, which in the gold rush days of 1847-1850 greatly enhanced his fortune as a result of the swift turnover of the goods he foreseeingly imported in this period of peak demand. As every good American knew, land—urban or untouched—was the safest and surest of investments, provided that it was carefully selected with a view to future growth and demand and that sufficient capital was held in reserve to carry it until the expected demand appeared. Overall, Larkin was a prudent investor, though on occasion he took risks with small parts of his capital by buying into property having uncertain titles. Being an American citizen and, indeed, consul, he was unable to obtain a grant for himself from Mexican officials, as had numerous other English and American immigrants to California, including his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, his employee, Josiah Belden, and John Bidwell, Henry D. Fitch, W. E. P. Hartnell, Jacob Leese, Pearson P. Reading, and Isaac J. Sparks. There were, however, other ways by which he and his family could obtain ranchos, and of course after American control was established he purchased extensively of urban lots in Sacramento, Los Angeles, Monterey, and San Francisco.

Before that time, however, Larkin found it desirable to curry favor with the prevailing authorities. Mexican Governor Manuel Micheltorena, badgered by internal dissension, dependent on rowdy and unreliable ragged soldiers, and lacking the means to finance his government, turned to Larkin for aid, which was promptly rendered. By placing the governor heavily in his debt Larkin assured himself exemption from too rigorous enforcement of duties on his imported Boston goods. In addition, Larkin in 1844 succeeded in gaining a grant of ten leagues for his children after they had gone through a somewhat questionable naturalization ceremony.¹³ Abel Stearns, the leading Southern California landowner and merchant, notified Larkin on June 12, 1846, that the children's grant had not been approved by the assembly "on account of the law not authorizing naturalizing minors. I could not persuade them to the measure." Larkin was not troubled about the limitation on the title to the rancho, however, which was located on the Sacramento River in Colusa County, a spot which he thought promising. His power was great, and he usually wielded it to his considerable advantage.

When Pío Pico replaced Micheltorena as governor in 1845 after a characteristically bloodiness revolution and ordered that debts incurred by his predecessor not

be paid, Larkin solemnly protested, warning the governor that he would hold him responsible for any loss of interest or principle he sustained. He also implied that Pico would be without funds for his own and the government's needs unless he relaxed his order.¹⁴ Only a man of outstanding financial importance in the province could have taken such a position and thus force the government to recognize its obligations.

Though Larkin as an alien could not expect to win a direct land grant from the Mexican governors, there was no legal barrier to his purchasing grants given to citizens. Also to his advantage, there were no restrictions on the number of grants or the total acreage he might buy, whereas Mexican citizens were barred from receiving direct grants from the government in excess of eleven leagues. (Of course, citizens could add to their eleven leagues by additional purchases.) Recognizing his opportunity, in 1846 Larkin began to invest a portion of his growing wealth in land either through outright purchases or by taking land in satisfaction of debts owed him.

In 1846, in association with John S. Missroon, a naval lieutenant, Larkin acquired from Manuel Jimeno his eleven league grant just south of Larkin's children's rancho on the Sacramento for \$2,000. To conform to Mexican land law Larkin made some small improvements on the rancho and sent some livestock to be kept there. Missroon was not able to meet his share of the expenses, and when an opportunity came to sell his share for \$4,500 he took it. About the same time Larkin sold his half-share for \$12,000, the difference being the result of smarter salesmanship.¹⁵ The unshakable Larkin, while being held a prisoner in Los Angeles by the revived Mexican forces in 1847, purchased from Charles Flügge the Boga rancho of 22,184 acres on the Feather River facing the children's rancho. This gave him, he calculated, an interest in a long frontage on the Sacramento with a possibility that the boundaries of Boga might be extended into the foothills of the Sierra where gold might be found. Expanding his sphere, in 1848 he acquired all or part of Cotati in Sonoma County, containing 17,238 acres, and in 1851 one half of Huichicha in Sonoma and Napa counties, his share being 9,352 acres.¹⁶

Little information exists about Larkin's negotiations for Cotati, a four-league rancho which was purchased on September 25, 1846, from Juan Castañeda, the grantee. Larkin offered portions of it to persons who would agree to make improvements on his lots in Benicia, but whether the work was done is not clear. He sold the rancho, whose papers were in good order, to Joseph S. Ruckel for \$16,000 on August 22, 1849, doubtless at an excellent profit, for remote ranchos were not yet attracting high prices.

Two of Larkin's acquisitions threatened to bring him into conflict with another land speculator, José Limantour, a wealthy Mexican trader operating on the West Coast who had grand dreams of acquiring most of San Francisco and as much as 200,000 acres in the Bay Area by whatever means, fair or foul, he found useful. The first of the Larkin-Limantour clashes came in a dispute over an eleven-league claim in Monterey County, Cienega de Gabilan, which had been granted to Antonio Chaves, an old *Californio* who owned a total of five claims. Chaves seems to have sold Cienega to José Limantour for \$500.¹⁷ The claim was rejected by the Land Commission, which arbitrated such claims, in 1855 in the absence of both Chaves and Limantour. In commercial relations with Chaves, who was

deeply in debt to him, Larkin had acquired his title to Cienega, as well as to that of Pleyto and lots in San Francisco, and arranged to appeal the Cienega case through Isaac Hartman to the district court where the title was confirmed, though only after a second hearing.¹⁸

Larkin was never one to neglect any opportunity of enriching himself, though he liked, indeed insisted, on having all details of business arrangements, however questionable, clearly set forth. Hearing that other men of means were using Indians as virtual slaves in mining for gold in the foothills and river beds, he made arrangements with two of his employees to take a score or more of Indians, equipped with a rocker or cradle, to search for the precious mineral. Early reports suggested that considerable quantities of gold were recovered, but the Indians deserted, and difficulties with his lieutenants halted further operations.¹⁹

By 1846 the existence of quicksilver ore in present Santa Clara and San Benito counties attracted Larkin's attention. In the midst of the Mexican War he and several others acquired an interest in a three-quarter-league grant to Justo Larios that was to prove extraordinarily rich in deposits of mercury. This brought him into one of the most tangled litigations in the history of the state, and after two years of participation in it he and his associates sold their mine on Capitancillos for \$63,000.²⁰

Other ranchos in which Larkin gained an interest included Carmel, Punta de Pinos, and Punta de Lobos, and he offered to buy the Munrás 19,979-acre claim of San Vicente in Monterey County but without success.²¹ The Carmel investments, which were deeded to Larkin in March, 1846, for \$1,400 and consisted of one league and 2,000 varas square on the Carmel River, may either have been part of the eleven-league Carmel grant to James Morehead of May 4, 1846, or they may have been a part of the Carmel mission.²² They were not pushed for confirmation before Larkin's death, and his papers give little information about them.

Punta de Pinos, a small rancho of 2,666 acres in Monterey County, had passed into the hands of Larkin and three other associates in 1850. Like so many of the claims, the title was involved because there were two sets of claimants. One of them acquired the rights of the original grantee, subsequently obtained a regrant or confirmation from a later California governor, and then sold his title to Larkin and associates. The other claimants were the heirs of the original grantee who maintained that no sale of their rights had ever been made. The Larkin associates showed a willingness to buy out the rights of the other group, probably fearing that otherwise their title would not gain confirmation.²³

In the late forties and fifties during San Francisco's great boom the fabrication of claims to land in the city flourished as real estate values shot up spectacularly with the gold rush. The Punta de Lobos claim had allegedly been given on June 25, 1846, to Benito Diaz, a somewhat prominent Mexican who had been collector of customs in Santa Barbara and San Francisco. It consisted of two leagues, including the Presidio, its fortifications, and the Mission Dolores. Larkin, like John C. Frémont, was casting about in all directions to engross land claims which, as early as 1845, he had predicted would make their owners rich. While still serving as consul in Monterey, Larkin bought from Diaz his San Francisco claim for \$1,000 on September 19, 1846, not three months after it had been granted him.

No evidence has been found to show whether or not Larkin had any part in initiating the grant.²⁴ Grave doubts persisted as to its validity.

Joseph L. Folsom, collector of the Port of San Francisco and already on the way toward a fortune through his real estate deals, cast doubts on the claim in 1848, as did Captain Henry W. Halleck in his well known report of 1849 upon the lands and mission property in California. Both Folsom and Halleck agreed that Mexican law did not permit the sale or conveyance of any lands that might be needed for forts or barracks, that grants for colonization had to be more than ten leagues from the coast, that the Diaz grant was on unstamped and hence illegal paper, that it had not been approved by the departmental assembly, that it had no accompanying certification and was signed by Pío Pico not at Los Angeles before American control was established, as was alleged, but after California was in the possession of Americans, and that it had been antedated.²⁵ Notwithstanding these questions concerning the validity of Diaz title to Punta de Lobos, Larkin made the purchase, and in 1847, before Mexico had ceded California to the United States and while Larkin was still in the service of the United States, he wrote Colonel Richard B. Mason who commanded American troops protesting "against my said property being used by any person or persons, privately or for the Government, without a due consideration being paid to me & further protest against any of the same in case of damages that may be sustained by me now or hereafter."²⁶

Larkin was surely aware of the uncertainty of his title to Punta de Lobos, but he nevertheless made every effort to gain confirmation, though he conceded that he might lose the fort which "would matter but little. . . ."²⁷ To strengthen his support and at the same time share his equity, he expressed the wish to sell one-half to some enterprising person, although he would not sell the entire tract for \$20,000. The next year, however, he sold it to Bethuel Phelps and Dexter Wright for \$50,000, according to the *Alta California*,²⁸ agreeing to take numerous lots in the rancho when it was surveyed and divided.²⁹ His responsibility for the title continued, and in 1854 Larkin wrote Stearns of his plan to go to Los Angeles to secure testimony from former governor Pío Pico concerning the making of the grant in 1845. In fact, he requested Stearns to show Pico the papers in advance of the meeting and prepare him to give the right answers under questioning.³⁰ Larkin's efforts notwithstanding, it did not take the Land Commission long to decide the claim was faulty, but Judge Ogden Hoffman struggled with it in the district court at great length before he could bring himself to reject it. When it reached the supreme court, however, it was speedily rejected on the ground that the conflicting testimony raised more questions than it answered, that the testimony of former Mexican officials could not make up for lack of documentary evidence, and that the title papers were both fabricated and antedated.³¹ By that time, however, Larkin's interest had passed to Palmer Cook & Co., whose banking record in the past was full of misfortune for the city and people of San Francisco.³²

Larkin's interest in the Punta de Lobos claim again put him squarely in conflict with José Limantour's claim for much of San Francisco, and his letters show him in the leadership of the fight against Limantour (though his own claim was defective and was to be rejected). In 1854, Gregory Yale, a land attorney in San Francisco, tried to collect \$5,000 from him for preparing evidence in opposition to

Limantour's efforts, though the final defeat of the claims was still four years away.³³

Larkin was no more successful in his purchase of the Orchard of the Santa Clara Mission from Benito Diaz. The fifteen-acre orchard had been granted to three *Californios*, including Benito Diaz, just five days after the date of the Punta de Lobos grant and apparently had been conveyed to Larkin by early 1847. Vague references to it in his correspondence suggesting that Larkin might gain some advantage in title adjudication by some underhanded action were met with scornful repudiation. When the claim came before Hoffman in the district court in 1858, it was rejected because of contradictory statements by witnesses and because it had been made without authority.³⁴

Before Larkin's consulship was eliminated by American acquisition of California, he and his children had an interest in, if not full ownership of 149,000 California acres. In addition he had bought the orchards of Missions San Jose and Santa Clara and lots and improvements in Monterey and San Francisco that were his most valuable possessions. Subsequent purchases of an interest in Huichicha, Cienega de Gabilan, Pleyto, and Punta de Pinos brought the total acreage in which at one time or another he had an interest to 230,000 acres. Of this amount 115,402 acres were confirmed to him, and his titles to other ranchos proved to be good, though patented after his death to others. In fact, Larkin had played the role of a broker in numerous transactions, his interest at times being the expected commission. In a letter to his half-brother he explained this role while accounting his efforts to sell the Henry Cambuston claim of eleven leagues on the Upper Sacramento, which was heavily involved in debt. In the same letter he wrote that he was trying to buy the title to one of the Munrás ranchos in Monterey County.³⁵

Larkin was sufficiently informed about Mexican land law to know that grants under the laws of 1824 and 1828 required occupation and improvement. He had a small house built on his Boga rancho, stocked the children's rancho with 500 cattle, 245 mares and colts, and \$1,000 worth of tools and implements, making a total investment in 1847 of \$4,620. To his Jimeno rancho he sent a farmer provided with a crosscut saw, a grindstone, a "hand mill," cattle, sheep, horses, geese, and turkeys. Throughout his life he continued to invest funds and attention to his farming operations, and in his last year (1858) he was assembling 125 horses, 508 cattle, and a dozen "very fine" American bulls to expand his livestock operations. Concerned with livestock quality, he instructed his hands to alter every native bull.³⁶

Aware of the possibility of repudiation, it was the Americans who either had taken out Mexican citizenship and received grants by 1846, or, like Larkin, had bought claims from Mexicans who hurried to secure their titles before the Land Commission and the courts in the years of early statehood. Many of the older Californians were slow to bring their titles to trial. Of the first dozen to be patented by December 18, 1857, nine were for men of American stock.³⁷ Larkin, too, was anxious, and his correspondence reveals his anxiety to gain confirmation of his claims as speedily as possible. His children's rancho was the eleventh to be patented, in 1857; Cotati was patented in 1858, Huichicha in 1859, Jimeno in 1862, Boga in 1865, Cienega de Gabilan in 1867, and Pleyto in 1872. (Only 148 claims had been patented by 1865 when Boga reached that stage.) Larkin's titles

had been approved by the courts even earlier, but boundary questions had caused delay in patenting. When the titles to the children's rancho and to Boga had been confirmed by the lower courts and further appeal to the supreme court had been dismissed on recommendation of the attorney general as unquestionably valid, Larkin wrote "I appear lucky," but it was more than luck. He had been careful to retain his papers in good order and, unlike other claimants to ranchos, he had not aroused bitter opposition by his treatment of squatters. Moreover, Larkin had the adjudication of his claims well started toward patent while the supreme court's Frémont-Mariposa decision with its extremely liberal position and near repudiation of past cases still stood. While Larkin's two orchard claims and the two questionable claims in San Francisco were rejected, it is doubtful that he had invested heavily in either of them.³⁸

Confirmation of title and patenting did not enable Larkin to dispose of his property readily, as he may have wished. Squatters had quickly moved on to his land and made their meager improvements while contesting his titles. Unusual among property speculators, Larkin preferred to come to terms with the squatters by buying out their rights or making leasing arrangements with them.³⁹ In consequence, he succeeded in avoiding much of the bitter land warfare which raged so violently in the city of Sacramento and in Sonoma, Alameda, and Santa Clara counties.

In personal letters Larkin related in his usual homely phrases how he outmaneuvered twenty or thirty squatters on his Huichicha rancho. Here he had some 4,800 acres of the best land surveyed and offered the squatters their choice of it at \$10 an acre.

They held in Sonoma a junto or caucus or indignation meeting, published their resolves to do justice to all (particular to themselves), and said among other things they would give on an average 5\$ per acre. I answered this in the Sonoma Print—offering to 4\$ on an average, that is on the whole. I found some 15 or 20 of them one afternoon about my Sonoma Hotel where myself and clerk were stopping—we had a hard & soft talk, a loud & low one. They would do this and they wouldn't that. Some was a little tight, some not.

Larkin told them that he had the upper hand, since he would hold to his offer but he knew that some of them would not hold to their demands. "I can hold faith with *myself*," he shrewdly observed, "but you can't with each other for fear some of you will be coming to me alone, I keeping your location over your heads." He then invited the squatters to have a drink or two at his expense "and then we'll have a quiet talk (a loud one) all about it." As a result, he triumphantly reported, he "broke the Band." A few bought that evening, others the next day, and in a week he had sold 3,000 acres at his original price of \$10 an acre, giving six, twelve and eighteen months for payments. Only one-tenth of them held out for any length of time.⁴⁰

Squatters on the children's rancho on the Sacramento River for a time, at least, seemed not to be as easily manipulated. By 1852 nine families lived on the property, and one had built a small clapboard house and claimed a preemption right to the land. Larkin's agent worriedly reported that the squatter threatened "to play hell with all hands" if his rights were not recognized, and that all the squatters were "cutting about the finest timber on the Ranch" but being very careful to do

their lumbering operations beyond their individual claims.⁴¹ Squatters, wrote his agent, "with considerable improvements have no faith in grants and disdain the idea of govt allowing one man to hold so much land. Next, old man Dean, sons and son-in-laws, out & out squatters, deny your right to hold lands. . . . When I notified Mr. Dean that the land was private property, his reply was that Congress would give him the land in spite of you."⁴² After the confirmation of Larkin's title by the Land Commission in 1854 and by the district court two years later and the abandonment of further appeals by the government, increasing interest was shown by squatters in coming to terms with Larkin. Revealing of his effort to avoid violent clashes is his purchase of the improvements on a 140-acre tract on the children's rancho. He paid \$1,000 in 1857 for the "very good oak worm fence, out houses and 100 hogs, 100 pigs," and he hoped to be able to "buy out some other persons."⁴³ The fact that he tolerated such extensive improvements on his land indicates a degree of acceptance of squatter's rights quite unlike that of most other large landowners.

At one time there seemed a prospect that Larkin's fortune, already large by California standards, might be greatly enhanced by the sale of his Boga rancho for its mining possibilities to English capitalists. Located on the Feather River below Oroville and near the Sierra foothills, Boga was regarded by its optimistic promoters, a group of New York brokers and dealers in highly speculative property, as saleable for amounts ranging from one to four million dollars. The promoters, however, were in competition with representatives of Frémont who had authorized the sale of his great bullion-producing Mariposa rancho. The clashing interests of the Fremont and Larkin representatives doubtless caused at least some of the bitterness later shown by John and Jessie Frémont toward Larkin.⁴⁴ One report of 1853 intimated that Boga had been sold for a million dollars, but this later proved to be unfounded. In fact, the claim did not extend into the mining country, and the valley land did not come into extensive demand, other than by squatters, for some time. While there had been some mining in the stream beds of Boga and efforts had been made to test the possibilities in quartz, in Larkin's lifetime miners concentrated on more promising areas.⁴⁵ It is interesting that Larkin later felt that he had been imposed upon by New York sharpers who had involved him in considerable expense without any return. Surely he had not displayed his usual caution in authorizing efforts to make the sale in England.⁴⁶

Larkin did well in the sale of portions of his ranchos and could expect, had he lived beyond 1858, to profit much more from them. The expansion of his mercantile fortune however, rested mostly on the speedy turnover of his fortunate investments in San Francisco. Unlike less cautious and, ultimately, unsuccessful speculators including Sam Brannan, Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, and W. G. Parker, Larkin did not buy wildly in the excitement of the great sales of lots in 1847 and 1848. Instead, he shrewdly foresaw that the lots acquired by M. G. Vallejo and James Alexander Forbes would soon be in demand, and he quietly acquired them for moderate sums together with one 100-vara lot, eight 50-vara lots, and seven beach and water lots. Already he had made a major commitment to San Francisco by joining with two others in constructing the first wharf for use by the increasing number of ships visiting the Bay City.⁴⁷ Larkin seemed to have an uncanny faculty to determine where growth was assured, and he had the

capital with which to proceed. His improved properties quickly came into intensive demand, and within two years six of his lots, with the buildings he had erected on them, were rented for a total of \$4,000 a month. That same year he bought a 100-vara lot for \$10,000 which he sold three-and-one-half months later for \$32,000. These and other fantastic returns on his city investments and his decision to accept the offer of Charles L. Ross for nine of his lots with buildings for \$300,000 assured Larkin a permanent place on easy street, though he had been financially comfortable for years. The rush of people to California to share in the gold discoveries sent property values in San Francisco to heights few could have foreseen, and, overnight, Larkin and others who had similar foresight profited beyond their most sanguine expectations.⁴⁸

This enormous appreciation in land values and the apparent disposition of his San Francisco lots led the restless Larkin to consider whether he should not close out his California investments altogether and move to the East. He would visit Boston, where he had many economic ties and friendships, but it was in New York City, now the financial capital of the country and a great booming community, that he proposed to establish his residence. Larkin had already sent his children east for their education, and in 1850 he and his wife took passage for New York by way of Panama. In the early 1850's he invested heavily in New York City property, but these investments did not turn out well. His failure, too, to breach the barriers of its higher business circles as well as the *haut monde* disillusioned him, and in 1853 he decided to return to San Francisco for the remainder of his life. He might well have born in mind the sage prediction of his long-time business associate, Jacob P. Leese, who wrote him in September 30, 1850: "I should like to see you back again amongst us, and rais yourself with the great State. Here you will be a lyon and there wil hav to be as cunning as a fox."⁴⁹

Larkin had other strong reasons to make the still dangerous and long trip to New York and Washington by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Not the least of his anxieties was the welfare of his two children. In addition, his investments called for attention in Washington, D.C., including his share of the Frémont claims, which were still unpaid, and his own land claims. Some of the latter were clearly questionable, but Larkin recognized they might be greatly benefitted by the loose-claim legislation then being favored by Thomas Hart Benton and John C. Frémont. Larkin also had a major stake in Benicia which he and others were promoting as the site for the California state capital. Benicia's promoters were pulling all possible wires to have this place made a port of entry, a move that Larkin might aid in Washington. Admission of California as a state and the bill for the adjudication of the Mexican land claims then under consideration were also of strong interest to anyone having as large a stake in them as Larkin did.⁵⁰ Larkin's conservative views made him a natural admirer of Henry Clay, to whom he presented "a beautiful watch chain made, in California, of specimens of native gold from the Placers. . . ." Clay acknowledged "this highly acceptable present" made in the midst of the debates over the admission of California and the move to make Benicia a port of entry.⁵¹

Another reason for Larkin's trip to the East was to counteract scurilous attacks which had been directed at him for presenting claims for the \$29,206 he had lent to Frémont and his battalion and to officers of the naval vessels stopping at Mon-

tery.⁵² The sum probably included his usual 100 to 300 per cent profit and was doubtless somewhat inflated, as were most of the claims Frémont and other officers had incurred, but it was true that Larkin and other capitalists had provided funds to Frémont when they deemed it essential for the American cause. Larkin hired an attorney to aid him in lobbying with Congress to secure payment. His correspondence does not throw much light on his personal lobbying, and he was not notably successful, later suffering the mortification of having most of his claim rejected.⁵³ Larkin was in Washington, too, when Congress was debating plans for adjudicating the California land claims, and he doubtless listened with anxiety to the arguments of the group advocating easy confirmation and those recommending the traditional method of commission and court trial.

Meanwhile, back in California towns and cities were being projected at many likely spots that seemed to their promoters to promise rapid growth and liberal returns on investments. None was more effectively advertised and actively promoted than Benicia on Carquinez Straits off San Pablo Bay. Its principal promoters were Larkin, Robert Semple, and Bethuel Phelps, all men of standing and considerable means. Having purchased the site of Benicia from M. G. Vallejo and drawn up elaborate plans for the prospective city, they advertised it widely, being assured, so they said, that it possessed advantages over San Francisco. They hoped to have Benicia made a port of entry and to locate the customs house and supply depots of both the army and navy there. They also hoped to make Benicia the state capital, to secure aid for a railroad to connect Benicia with Marysville, one of the principal mining centers, to develop the port as a shipping center and to persuade the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. to operate there. The promoters, including Larkin, moved on all these fronts and came close to gaining all their objectives.

Larkin cultivated both Major (and Governor) Persifer F. Smith of the United States Army and Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the United States Pacific squadron, who were in positions to favor Benicia. Within three days after Major Smith arrived as commander of the military forces in California and Oregon in 1849, he was caught up in the excitement about Benicia. He informed Larkin that he wanted to buy a lot for a residence for himself and that he wished to invest in five or ten additional lots on which to put stores. In addition, he proposed to establish the quartermaster's supply depot at Benicia, for which he asked Larkin for a cession of land, stating that if it were not so used the property would be returned.⁵⁴ By 1851, the *Alta California* could report that the Army was quartered at Benicia.⁵⁵ Major Smith bought for himself a portion of the Solano-Suscol rancho which included the site of Benicia,⁵⁶ and the title to Suscol was confirmed by the district court, later to be rejected by the supreme court.

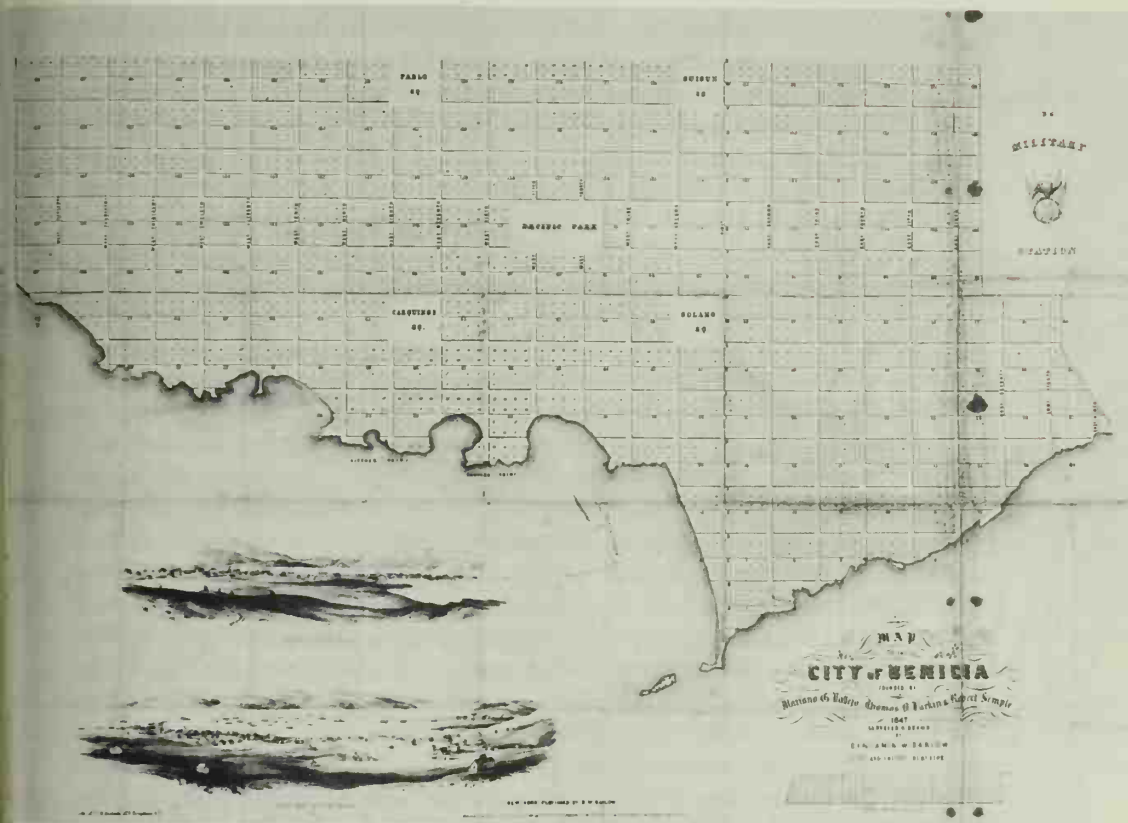
Commodore Jones was likewise assimilated into the group of Benicia's promoters. He studied the water routes to San Francisco and Benicia, made soundings, and convinced himself that the latter site was both easier of access and safer. He apparently convinced Robert Semple that when the headquarters of the squadron was moved to Benicia, it would sound the "death warrant" of San Francisco.⁵⁷ To enable him to share in the enterprise Larkin sold the commodore two blocks and ten lots, the latter at \$50 each in January, 1849. (They were said to be worth \$500 to \$1,500 each by May.) He also distributed seventeen outlying

lots among officers of the ships using the site of Benicia. To receive support in Washington for the move to make Benicia a port of entry, the commodore gave to Senator Pierre Soulé, a member of the committee on commerce, a report of his findings showing the advantages and safety of the water route to Benicia over that to San Francisco with its hidden rocks and shoals. While on his eastern trip, Larkin did his share of lobbying, according to the *Alta California*, by inducing the insurance companies of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to memorialize Congress in behalf of making Benicia a port of entry. Larkin had the assistance of Rodman Price who had a stake in both San Francisco and Benicia but who had returned to his home in New Jersey and was elected to Congress in 1850.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, of all the cities, actual or planned, being promoted for the site of the state capital and other plums from the federal government, Benicia was the most detested by residents of San Francisco because of the belief that its success endangered their welfare. Clearly, the *Alta California* reflected this position. It looked upon San Jose and Monterey with favor and was not troubled about the schemes of the promoters of Vallejo and New York on the Pacific, but Benicia's promoters touched a sensitive nerve. At various times, the *Alta* called Benicia "one of the most prodigious humbugs of the day," that "essentially stupid stale and most unprofitable attempt at speculation in town lots. . . ." Taking a highly moral tone it declared that "the project of locating the Capital merely to build up a city around it and thus make real estate valuable" reduced the state to a "subserviency to the plans of speculators" and was "not only absurd, but wicked—wicked if it be done for that purpose or through such influence."⁵⁹

To make Benicia a port of entry with a custom house and collector of customs might have seriously affected San Francisco for the moment, but in the end the *Alta* did not have to worry; the advantages of the Bay City were too obvious. Furthermore, despite the intervention of Commodore Jones and Thomas O. Larkin, no support in Congress could be mustered for making Benicia a port of entry, though an appropriation of \$150,000 for a floating drydock which might be located there and \$73,985 for the purchase of a site and construction at Benicia in 1851–1855 indicates that the place was not without influential friends.⁶⁰

Undaunted, Larkin and Phelps continued to promote efforts to make Benicia the capital of California. While Larkin was in the East, he reported, his agent and manager of his properties was "very busy . . . electioneering for the removal of the seat of government from Vallejo to Benicia and have at last succeeded." To accomplish the removal he hired a skilled lobbyist, "agreeing to give him \$2,500. to bring it about." The agent said the removal could not be accomplished without the aid of Major Graham who had the pledge of a majority of the senators for an alternative site at Vallejo in which Graham was largely interested.⁶¹ "I also agreed to give him (to be deeded to the members, they not willing to be known in the transaction) twenty-five lots in B—but they are mostly of little value," wrote the agent. The Sacramento people, as well, were said to have used every exertion to gain the prize, including the hire of a steamboat loaded with provisions and liquor which were free to all, at the sponsors' expense of \$13,000.⁶² The city of Benicia appropriated \$3,000 to secure the removal of the capital, and Larkin's agent took \$500 of the scrip Benicia floated for that purpose. Larkin was informed that James McDougall, a stockholder in the Benicia and Marysville Railroad who had just



Landholder and co-founder Larkin actively promoted Benicia on the Carquinez Straits for the site of the state capital. This 1847 map, replete with picturesque views of the town and its harbor, likely served as promotional material for his lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C.

been elected to Congress, would “try to get an appropriation from Congress” to aid in its construction.⁶³

All these activities, including the location of the capital at Benicia (from which it was shortly removed because of lack of accommodations) and the building of docks and machine shops for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the United States arsenal, brought a considerable growth of population to Benicia and returns to its promoters, but, alas, the predictions of Semple, the favorable actions of Major Smith and Commodore Jones, and Larkin’s lobbying did not pay off to the anticipated degree. Benicia survived only as a very small and out of the way community.⁶⁴ Disappointed, Larkin turned to promoting other areas in which he owned property—Sonoma, Sacramento, Monterey, and Los Angeles—but his correspondence does not reveal the same efforts on their behalf that he gave to his Benicia and San Francisco holdings.

Unfortunately, Larkin left no account of his role in the legislative battle in

Sacramento culminating in the Settlers Act of 1856 which was intended to protect settlers regarding the improvements they had made on unsurveyed Mexican land claims. Until that time squatters had exercised their traditional American right of settling upon and improving unsurveyed unclaimed public land without establishing formal private ownership. Their "squatter" improvements enhanced the value of their land, and Mexican land claimants began seeking to include them as part of their large claims. Litigation, ejectment, damage suits, mob action, and destruction of property led to an increasing demand by the growing settler party for legislation to assure the settlers the value of their improvements in the event of ejectment. Between 1852 and 1856 settler proposals were annually introduced into the legislature, and bitter fights ensued, but not until 1856 was the movement of sufficient strength to bring victory. The measure introduced in 1856 was one of the most liberal in the long array of settler legislation by colonies and states since the seventeenth century. It stated that all land should be deemed public until the legal title was shown to have passed from the government, that actual and peaceable possession of land (whether by claimants or squatters) should be evidence of a right to such possession, that a Mexican claimant's title to a Mexican grant could only assure right to the possession or use of the land from the date of patent, and that the usual methods of determining rights should be used. If the claim owner's title to the land proved good, he was required either to pay the squatters on his land the value of their improvements as determined by a jury and to permit them to harvest their growing crops or to sell to the settler title to the land he had improved as valued by a jury without the improvements. The owner could expect compensation from the squatter for his occupation of the land since the date of the patent. Amendments provided that settlers could not claim the benefit of improvements put on land after the confirmation of the title to the claim by the claim commission nor compensation for any improvements within areas fenced by the claimants.⁶⁵ The act was adopted at the peak of settler discontent about the way in which courts and sheriffs had used their powers to protect the interests of owners of Mexican land claims. Furthermore, while a considerable number of these claims proved fraudulent, claimants had often managed to extract from settlers rents and even income from sales for a number of years.

Large land owners, particularly Pablo de la Guerra whose family had claims to 374,000 acres, José María Covarrubias who had two claims for 68,000 acres that were to be confirmed, and Joseph L. Brent, a prominent Southern Californian who was active in the courts in defense of the large claims, led the opposition in the legislature to the settlers' bill. Larkin also appears to have lobbied in opposition. Writing from Sacramento to Abel Stearns just two weeks before the act was adopted, Larkin said he was there "to see the wire pulling for the Settlers Bill and if possible wish to have one pull at it my way."⁶⁶ After a bitter fight the measure was adopted but Larkin seemed not to have been unduly troubled because, as he wrote after its enactment, "the Settlers do not have much faith in their Bill." As it turned out, the measure did not stand the test of the state supreme court which, however, had to go back to the discredited *Green v. Biddle* decision of the United States Supreme Court of 1823 for authority to strike it down.⁶⁷ Kentucky, whose statute had then been invalidated, had reenacted it and, indeed, made it a tighter measure, and between 1823 and 1856 at least thirteen other states and territories

had adopted similar measures. The major difference between the California occupying tenants' law and those of other states (many of which had been in operation for as much as a half-century) was that other states conceded the right of recovery to settlers only if they had some color of title, *i.e.* a tax title. If the California measure had been more carefully drafted in the light of experience elsewhere, it might have stood the onslaught of the land owners. Occupancy legislation was before the people of California for years to come but the settlers were never again to muster as much support as they had in 1856.⁶⁸

A large land holder like Pablo de la Guerra thought the settlers bill bad enough, but the revenue bill for the same session was, he declared, even more dangerous.⁶⁹ His difficulty—and that of most large owners of land in Southern California—was that he lacked the capital to develop his extensive holdings and the possibility of selling it or otherwise drawing revenue from it because population growth was still restricted to the northern portion of the state. Two acts of 1856 increased the state tax on each \$100 of taxable property (land, improvements, and livestock) by 10¢ and authorized the board of supervisors of Santa Barbara County to levy a special tax of 25¢ to 75¢ on each \$100 of real or personal property for the extinguishment of the county debt.⁷⁰ Larkin, unlike land holders in the South, derived from sales in Northern California more than enough money to pay his taxes and seems not to have been troubled by the burden.

Ever alert to new and promising business opportunities, Larkin never confined his business activities to merchandising, mining, and real estate. In 1851 he became an organizer and director of the Pacific and Atlantic Rail Road Company which was planned to lay track from San Jose to San Francisco. Two years later he joined with Sam Brannan in a petition to the city of San Francisco for a franchise to build a street railway from Market Street to Vallejo or Guerrero streets and thence to the city limits where it would connect with the projected Pacific and Atlantic Railroad.⁷¹ Prospects looked favorable for early construction of these lines, but the business decline of 1854–1855 caused the projects to lapse. With extensive investments in Monterey, Larkin was naturally interested in a projected railroad to connect that city with some point on the San Joaquin River, and he became a member of the executive committee of the company to build it.⁷² He was also the second largest stockholder in the San Francisco & Sacramento Railroad (Theodore Judah being the first) and actively participated in plans for a transcontinental railroad.⁷³ In 1853 he subscribed to 200 shares of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad headquartered in New York.⁷⁴ In 1854, he publicly participated in a mass meeting—one of the largest mass meetings that ever assembled in San Francisco—on behalf of a Pacific railroad.⁷⁵ He served as president of the abortive California Steam Packet Company and owned shares in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which circumstance may have been helpful in inducing the company to establish its iron works and machine shops at Benicia as the “first large industrial enterprise in California.”⁷⁶

“The First and Last Consul,” as John Hawgood loved to call Larkin, died in 1858 at the age of fifty-six, leaving property estimated to be worth from \$300,000 to \$500,000. His will provided small bequests for a brother-in-law and nineteen cousins, to the more unfortunate of whom he had already given generous aid. The balance of his estate went to his wife and children, save for a \$400 bequest to

Mt. Auburn cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁷⁷ Earlier, he had given one hundred acres for the location of a college on his Huichicha rancho.⁷⁸

Larkin's life in California spans the era from the arrival of Massachusetts traders in Mexican California through the war with Mexico to the resolution of conflicting land claims resulting from the sale and transfer of Upper California from one nation's people to another. A study of his business career illuminates the complicated process by which *Californios* lost and skillful Yankee speculators won control of the land in the new state.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS are courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

NOTES

1. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley, 1911), pp. 155-182 and elsewhere.

2. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast*, with additional documents, edited by John Haskell Kemble (2 vols., Los Angeles, 1964) I:xiv and 2:393. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 107-110 and 154-157, contains a frank treatment of the common practice of ship captains and importers to evade the payment of duties on the landing of goods in California. He concluded that "those who were transgressors of the law . . . were not considered as law-breakers in any odious sense, but were in entire good standing in the community, and were, to a certain extent, benefitting the people and doing a service to the country." The New England conscience was well under control.

3. Stearns and Temple were called "immensely rich" by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in 1859. Robert F. Lucid, *The Journal of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.* (3 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), 3:848. William Heath Davis, another Bostonian who was early involved in California maritime trade, left materials for his *Seventy Five Years in California* which provides much information on trade between California and the Sandwich Islands, China, and New England.

4. Davis, *Seventy Five Years in California*, introduction by Douglas S. Watson, xxxviii-xxxix.; Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to The Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (New York, 1948), p. 127. Royce's judgment of Larkin, though it is stated in somewhat saccharin terms, is apt, but Royce's emotions carried him away from sober judgment on Frémont and on the role of the squatters.

5. The ten-volume *Larkin Papers* plus the indispensable index volume were published by the University of California Press for the Bancroft Library over the course of 1951-1968. John A. Hawgood has published additional Larkin letters and located some others in his *First and Last Consul. Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California. A Selection of Letters* (San Marino, 1962).

6. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542-1848* (Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 706-707. This *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants* was extracted from Bancroft's *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1885-1890), vols. 2-5. References are hereafter made to the *Register*. Reuben L. Underhill, *From Cow Hides to Golden Fleece. A Narrative of California, 1832-1858* (Stanford University, 1939), is useful, though lacking in critical appraisal. The author has bowdlerized the Larkin letters he quotes.

7. Joseph Warren Revere, *Naval Duty in California* (Oakland, 1947), p. 81; Robert J. Parker, "Larkin's Monterey Business; Articles of Trade, 1833-1839," *Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, XXIV:54-65 (March, 1942).

8. Donald M. Craig, *William Robert Garner Letters from California, 1846-1847* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 181.

9. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, February 12, 1843, in Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., "Six New Larkin Letters," *Southern California Quarterly*, 49:72 (March, 1967).

10. Bancroft, *Pioneer Register*, 706. Robert J. Parker lists "Larkin's Monterey Customers," in *Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, 24:41-53 (June, 1942). Parker offers detail

about Larkin's trade at his Monterey store which was called a "grog-shop" because of the amount of intoxicants sold, in "Larkin's Monterey Business: Articles of Trade, 1833-1839," Historical Society of Southern California, *Quarterly*, 24:54-62 (June, 1942).

11. Larkin's fees from April 2, 1844, to December 31, 1844, were \$110.50 and from July 1, 1845, to December 31, 1845, were \$257. *Larkin Papers*, 34:; 4:144.

12. *Larkin Papers*, 6:36, 48-52, 61, 229.

13. *Larkin Papers*, 5:19. Rayner W. Kelsey, in his *United States Consulate in California* (Academy of Pacific Coast History, vol. 1, no. 5, Berkeley, 1910), p. 89, says one account he used maintained that when Mrs. Larkin was ill some years after her marriage "she was baptized into the Catholic church at the earnest solicitation of friends." At the same time, so Kelsey's source says, Larkin and his wife "went through the Catholic marriage ceremony in order to be sure that the children would be legal heirs." If such action was taken it may possibly have been done to enable the children to receive the "The Children's Rancho."

14. *Larkin Papers*, 3:56. In his relations with John C. Frémont and Commodore Richard Field Stockton, Larkin showed the same tendency to curry favor with authority. This is notably true as revealed in a letter to Stockton of April 13, 1847, in which he explained in detail why he did not arrange to go south for a meeting called by Stockton for a California assembly and then accounted for his inability to let Stockton have a share in the Jimeno grant he had purchased. He offered another favor, a beautifully designed poncho with elaborate silver embroidery, that would "draw the attention of the whole field" at New Jersey race courses. *Larkin Papers*, 6:100-101.

15. Jimeno rancho was spoken of as a nine league grant and in the contract for the sale of Larkin's half share of June 22, 1852, it is called nine leagues. Yet in Hoffman's *Report of Land Cases* and the "Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California," eleven leagues or 48,854 acres are specifically given. *Larkin Papers*, 9:111 and Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, New York, January 14, 1853, in Nunis, "Six Larkin Letters," 88.

16. *Larkin Papers*, 6:50, 7:95, 99; 8:285.

17. *Alta California*, October 27, 28, 1857.

18. Larkin to Stearns, April 13, 24, 1855, and May 31, 1856, Stearns MSS., Huntington Library; *Larkin Papers*, 10:252, 339. Hartman continued to represent the claim after Larkin's death and the sale of his right in it to Jesse D. Carr. His terms were that he should carry the case to the supreme court and if successful he would receive two leagues (8,856 acres) in full compensation. Larkin was very close in allowing fees to attorneys and would surely not have approved granting two-elevenths of Cienega unless he was assured it was a doubtful claim. Fearing unfavorable action by the supreme court and hoping not to have to take the case before it, Hartman advised delaying action because of evidence of forgery in the papers, or at least this was the testimony of Carr. Carr declared in a later case before the California supreme court that he was aware the title papers of Cienega were forged and that he had paid \$5,000 to another lawyer to prevent the court from rehearing the case. He was trying to evade the payment of his attorney's fee, and how much reliance one can place on his testimony is uncertain. *Ballard v. Carr*, 48 *California*, 75. Cienega was confirmed by Judge Ogier of the southern district court who gave land claims coming before him much less careful consideration than did Judge Hoffman in the northern district. Carr later arranged with the agent for the location of the California Agricultural College lands, whereby lands would be withheld for him until he had determined to buy them, thus in effect avoiding competition. Jesse D. Carr, San Francisco, October 23, 1872, to H. A. Higley, University of California Archives. Also see *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, March 8, 1876.

19. *Larkin Papers*, 7:312, 332, 357.

20. William T. Sherman in his *Memoirs of Gen. William T. Sherman* (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:43, speaks of the Fossat company in its early period as the "Larkin Company." The large-minded Walter Colton, who came as a navy chaplain to California, seems to have had an interest in a mercury mine, possibly the same one in which Larkin had invested, and also owned property in Monterey. For Larkin's part in the mercury mine see *Larkin Papers*, 7:232, 261, 264, and 10:280; *House Ex. Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 5, serial 573, no. 17, pp. 547, 551; Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Quick-Silver Mine* (Georgetown, California, 1963), pp. 31-32.

21. *Larkin Papers*, 10:341.

22. *Larkin Papers*, 6:360-361; 8:360.

23. *Larkin Papers*, 9:47-48, 71.

24. Larkin, Monterey, June 14, 1845, to Abel Stearns, Stearns MSS., The Huntington Library, and to William A. Leidesdorff, September 21, 1846, Leidesdorff MSS., The Huntington Library.

25. J. L. Folsom, San Francisco, August 31, 1846, to General T. S. Jessup in Folsom Papers, Bancroft Library; *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 5, serial 573, no. 17, especially 178-180. Colonel J. D. Stevenson, writing to Halleck on September 7, 1847, said: "It is a matter of common notoriety here, that grants of land were made by Pío Pico to the following individuals: Pliny F. Temple, W. Workman, Antonio Cota, R. Den, Benj. Wilson, H. Reid, and others, the deeds being made out and signed on or about August 9, 1846, "or well after American control had been established."

26. *Larkin Papers*, 6:229.

27. Larkin to C. V. Gillespie, March 16, 1847 (or 1848), *Larkin Papers*, vii:182.

28. December 5, 1857.

29. The consideration may have been \$20,000 and lots estimated to be worth \$30,000. *Larkin Papers*, vii:192; viii:286, 295, 297.

30. Larkin to Stearns, June 17, 1854, Stearns MSS., HEH. Two years later the Diaz claim was assessed at \$500,000, the Limantour claim at \$5,000,000, and the Bolton & Barron claim at \$2,000,000. *Alta California*, February 1, 6, 1855.

31. Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases*, 216 ff., and 65 *U.S. Reports*, 126. No evidence has been found that Frémont had any interest in the Lobos claim, though he was deeply involved with Palmer, Cook & Co.

32. The \$500,000 assessment on Punta de Lobos in 1856, though it already had been rejected by the Land Commission, suggests how much was at stake. *Alta California in Sacramento Union*, February 2, 1856.

33. *Larkin Papers*, 10:12.

34. *Larkin Papers*, 6:25, 31, 35; *Federal Cases*, Book 14, pp. 1150 ff. There is some evidence that it was the orchard of Santa Clara (or possibly San Jose) Mission that Frémont had hoped to acquire when he turned over to Larkin \$3,000 for the purchase of a rancho. Apparently Frémont and his wife Jessie were distressed that they did not get the orchard, though they were later to be content, instead, with Mariposa. But Jessie's indignation was revived when she learned that Larkin had acquired a claim to the orchard. The *Alta California* of January 16, 1848, declared that Larkin had retained his interest in the orchard with J. W. Redmond in 1858.

35. The Munrás ranchos were San Vicente (19,979 acres) and Laguna Seca (2,179 acres), both being patented in 1865. *Larkin Papers*, 10:341. An inventory of Larkin's real estate as of 1847, lists six ranchos containing thirty-three leagues (Boga, Children's, Cotati, Jimeno, Punta de Lobos and one league of Carmel), his mansion house, hospital house, Cole house, eighteen lots in Monterey and San Francisco, and one half of the five square miles included in the town of Benicia which he seems to have appraised at a total of \$50,000. This does not appear to include the improvements he was currently putting on his San Francisco and Benicia lots.

36. *Larkin Papers*, 6:50, 113, 148, 154, 270; 7:15, 10:346-349.

37. Frémont received the first patent, for Mariposa. Four patents were given to men born in Massachusetts, one each from Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina and Georgia, and one whose birthplace is not identified. The dates of the patenting of the grants are in "Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California complete to February 25, 1886, prepared by California State Surveyor General," Published as a Supplement to his official *Report of 1882-1884*.

38. *Larkin Papers*, 10:343.

39. *Larkin Papers*, x:345.

40. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, New York, January 14, 1853, in Nunis, "Six Larkin Letters," 88. Cf. *Larkin Papers*, X:174 for a somewhat different result.

41. *Larkin Papers*, 9:83.

42. *Larkin Papers*, 9:127-8.

43. *Larkin Papers*, 10:345.

44. John Hawgood (*First and Last Consul Thomas Larkin and the Americanization of California*, xxxvi ff), was unduly troubled about this bitterness as reflected in Josiah Royce, *California From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco*. Royce wrote with deep emotion and was extremely careless with language, resorting to "caustic" and "violent" attacks on those whose action he deplored, as Allan Nevins has shown in *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West*,

282–283. His attack upon the squatters for their efforts to “defraud” the *Californios* which were “atrociously wicked,” and amounted to “legal spoliation” and were the “devil’s instrument” (Royce, *California*, 368–370) are illustrative of the violence of the attacks upon the squatters and upon the California Land Act of 1851, which Royce quite misunderstood. See Paul W. Gates, “The California Land Act of 1851,” *California Historical Quarterly*, 50:395–430 (December, 1971).

45. *Larkin Papers*, 9:208, 228; 10:175–178.

46. Larkin and others associated with him in this venture seem to have been extraordinarily naive in assuming that English capitalists would fall for blandishments of owners of a California claim, as yet unconfirmed and showing no positive evidence of mining possibilities other than placer mining. See the correspondence of Larkin, J. H. Wainwright, George E. Baldwin, J. B. Knapp, and Henry S. Stebbins in volume 9 of the *Larkin Papers*.

47. In addition to numerous letters about the purchase of the Forbes and Vallejo lots see Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1852), and *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 589, no. 18, pp. 133–134; *Larkin Papers*, 3:302.

48. Argument on Land Values in Rodman Price MSS., University of California at Los Angeles, Manuscript Division; *Larkin Papers*, 8:pp. xi ff. For terms of contract with Ross, see 262 ff.

49. *Larkin Papers*, 8:262–292, 347. Faxon Dean Atherton, another long-time friend of Larkin of whom he was asking for information about real estate investments in the Bay City, said in February 23, 1854, “You I believe never lose, except when you exchange property in Montgomery St. for houses in New York.” *Larkin Papers*, 10:25.

50. Larkin was in Washington when the California land bills were under consideration. He mentioned the Benton and Gwin bills, saying “It’s impossible for us to foretell whether Govt. will construe titles by the letter or by the spirit; if the former, it will prove bad for many landholders.” Unlike William Carey Jones, Frémont and Benton, he felt it was not so much the nature of the final act and the procedure for testing the titles that was important, as it was the “spirit” with which the judges undertook their studies. *Larkin Papers*, 8:365. Interestingly John S. Missroon, with whom Larkin had purchased the Jimeno grant, wrote Larkin from St. Louis in March, 1851: “Com. Stockton is in the Senate of the U.S. I think he will be found on the side of the grants.” *Larkin Papers*, 8:411. Stockton’s conservative views on property rights, strengthened by his ownership of a promising claim in Santa Clara County, might well assure his support for generous treatment of the claims. He had not, however, taken his seat at the time the California Land Act was passed.

51. *Larkin Papers*, 8:326. Larkin is also said to have presented a “magnificent sea otter” fur to President Taylor early in 1850. He had also given one to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, in 1847. *Larkin Papers*, 7:105; Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece*, 218.

52. Larkin had two sets of claims, one against Mexico for actions he held the Mexican government responsible for before 1846—amounting to \$16,279—and \$29,206 lent Frémont. *Larkin Papers*, 8:364.

53. Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece*, 146, 221–222; *Senate Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., vol. 6, serial 751, no. 8, pp. 6 ff.

54. Smith to Larkin, March 2 and April 9, 1849, *Larkin Papers*, 8:166, 206.

55. *Alta California*, January 4, 1851.

56. *Alta California*, August 16, 1853.

57. Semple to Larkin, March 6, 1848, *Larkin Papers*, viii:70.

58. *Larkin Papers*, 8:134, 146, 167, 229; *Alta California*, November 9, 11, 1850. The commodore’s letter to Soulé and Larkin’s lobbying in Washington stirred up a hornet’s nest when news of these activities reached San Francisco, for they were there interpreted as an attack on the City at the Golden Gate. *Alta California*, November 9, 11, 1850. Jones had two full blocks and eight lots, and Price had six lots in Benicia. Notwithstanding his efforts in behalf of this place, Jones had what must have been a larger interest in San Francisco, a loan of \$10,450 on eight 100-vara lots at 5 per cent interest per month. Indenture of July 10, 1850, of David Chandler to Commodore Jones, Halleck, Peachy & Billings MSS., Bancroft Library.

59. *Alta California*, September 3, 27, 28, 1850.

60. Acts of August 5, 1854 and March 3, 1855, 10 *Stat.*, 573, 658. In reply to newspaper attacks for his efforts to make Benicia a port of entry and perhaps to prevent some other worthier cities from gaining that step, Larkin wrote: “The procuring a bill for a Port of Entry for Benicia by

every fair and just measure that was in my power is a charge to which I am guilty of as I ever was of any other undertaking of mine," but he went on to deny that he had sought to hurt the chances of any other city. *Larkin Papers*, 8:362.

61. Richard Henry Dana, on his visit to California in 1859, heard that G. M. Vallejo and his son-in-law Captain John B. Frisbie had expended \$10,000 in the construction of public buildings at Vallejo to attract and retain the capital there. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast*, edited with additional documents by John Haskell Kemble, I:443.

62. *Larkin Papers*, 9:223. William Tecumseh Sherman, while managing a San Francisco bank, came into possession of \$50,000 of Sacramento scrip through a defaulting borrower. The question of payment hung on for some time until in 1858 Sherman agreed to contribute \$1,500 to a move to induce the legislature to adopt a bill to provide for refunding the scrip. "All the best people" in San Francisco "have contributed in like proportion . . .," Sherman wrote. *Clark Sherman*, 337.

63. *Larkin Papers*, 9:156.

64. John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route 1848-48* (Berkeley, California, 1943), p. 135.

65. Act of March 26, 1836, *California Laws*, Seventh Session of the Legislature, 1856, p. 54.

66. Larkin to Stearns, Sacramento, March 12, 1856, Stearns MSS., The Huntington Library; *Larkin Papers*, 10:263.

67. *California Reports*, 8 ff.

68. Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," and "Pre-Henry George Land Warfare in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41:99-139 (June, 1962), and 46:121-148 (June, 1967), and the same writer's "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 49:18 ff (June, 1962).

69. *Larkin Papers*, 10:255.

70. Acts of April 2, 19, 1856, *California Laws*, Seventh session, 1856, pp. 72, 214.

71. Oscar Osborn Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869," Part 3, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 14:165-166 (June, 1935).

72. *Larkin Papers*, 9:26, 42.

73. *Larkin Papers*, 10:211, 236, 275, 310-312.

74. *Larkin Papers*, 9:311.

75. Frank Soulé et al, *The Annals of San Francisco Together with the Continuation, Through 1855* (Palo Alto, 1966), p. 27 of the *Continuation*.

76. *Larkin Papers*, 10:236; John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 135, 145.

77. *Larkin Papers*, 10:59. It was to be called Trinity College of Larkin.

78. For this famous cemetery and its associations with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, from which it so largely benefitted, see Oakes I. Ames, "Mount Auburn's Sixscore Years," Cambridge Historical Society, *Publications*, 34:77-95 (1951-1952).

Frank Van Sloun: California's Master of the Monotype and the Etching

JOHN MAXWELL DESGREY

Bay area art dealer, appraiser, author, and lecturer

FRANK VAN SLOUN (1879–1938) was undoubtedly one of the finest and most innovative yet least known California graphic artists. Best known in California for his numerous easel and mural paintings, his outstanding graphic achievements in the fields of etchings and monotypes have only recently come to light.

While researching Van Sloun's life and works during the past several years I have catalogued more than 300 of his monotypes and approximately 100 of his etchings, all of which were produced between 1902 and 1938. This great body of graphic works gives evidence that Van Sloun made notable contributions with his monotypes and etchings, having developed new processes for both and achieving effects which have never before been accomplished in the history of these media. Although he learned basic monotype and etching crafts in New York under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase, Van Sloun's most expressive and innovative work was done after he came to California in 1911.

Under the influence of Henri and John Sloan, Van Sloun executed his first etchings in New York around 1902. One of his earliest was a view of a bridge with tugs and barges as seen from the East River. Another early etching of this period is *In The Tavern*.

Van Sloun said, "My greatest teacher in etching was Rembrandt." Van Sloun admired the soft burr in Rembrandt's best etchings, so he strove for the soft effect rather than the harsh line. This led him to experiment with monotypes, which, in turn, led him to do more experimentation in etching. Through trial and error he mastered the craft of etching, and later began to pursue what he referred to as a "new process" in etching. The secrets of his processes in etching and monotyping died with Van Sloun. His work, however, stands as proof of his success in maintaining control and effects in both media which had never before been achieved. More importantly, the artistic expression of his works demonstrates that he also achieved his ultimate goal as an artist, not merely as a technician.

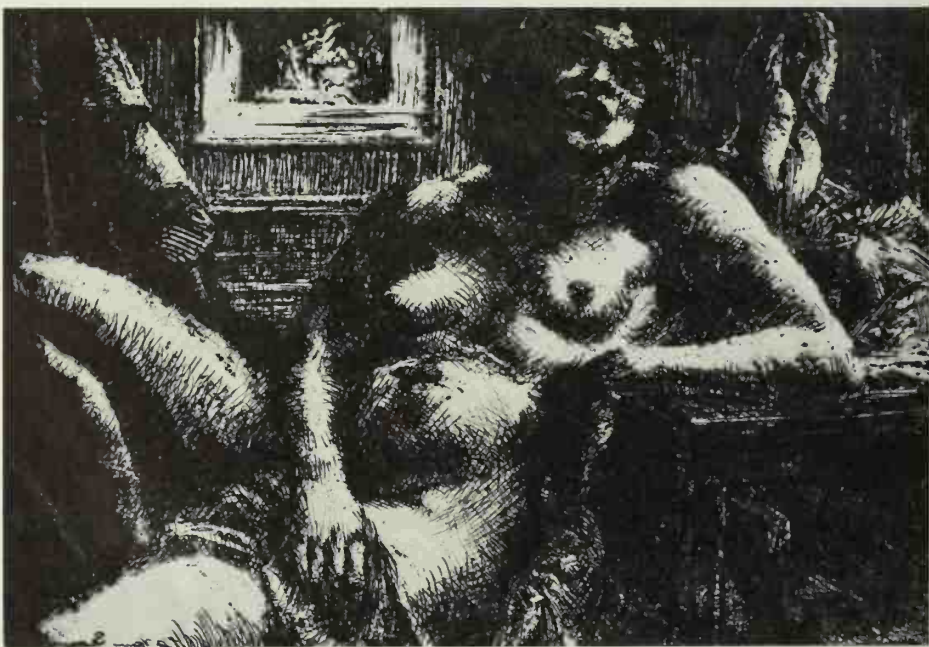
Van Sloun's early etchings are reminiscent of John Sloan's technique and style. Critic Robert Harshe wrote in the book *Art in California*: "Frank Van Sloun's drypoints recall John Sloan's etchings." In technique and style Van Sloun's later

works are quite different. He produced his finest monotypes and etchings during the Depression of the 1930's. *Hard Times*, a monotype (see cover), and *Dark Model*, an etching, are examples of the expressiveness he achieved after rising above the technical limitations of each medium.

Most graphic artists made their etchings from drawings that had been carefully executed on tissue paper, then transferred to the plate. Van Sloun brought craftsmanship and spontaneity to his etchings. He drew directly on the copper or zinc plate, often with no preliminary study or drawing, and he developed superb control, in spite of the fact that the etching process is notoriously unreliable, even in skilled hands. The great French etcher, Charles Meryon, referred to the etcher's acid as "that traitorous liquor." Van Sloun found new methods of applying full strength acid directly to the etching plate without the use of a ground, a wax mask theretofore always used in etching. In so doing he achieved effects that never before had been accomplished in the history of the medium. How Van Sloun was able to control the acid in direct application is a secret that is unknown today. He had a knack for making the effect he wanted with very few corrections in his plates. Seldom did he make more than two or three changes on a plate, and he usually reached the effect he wanted in the first try.

Popular interest in etchings and monotypes is a fairly recent phenomenon. The artist of the early 1900's could hardly support himself from the sale of his prints. Sloan, today considered one of the finest of the American etchers, sold very few of his etchings in his lifetime. This was typical of most graphic artists. Van Sloun's market was further limited by the fact that he was not interested in rendering the architectural subjects which were popular for etchings during the early 1900's. He much preferred American genre and Biblical subjects.

The number of impressions Van Sloun took from each plate was always extremely limited. Though Van Sloun's records sometimes indicate an edition of fifty, he seldom printed more than twenty, and very often he printed no more than five or ten. Because of the difficulties and expense of making a plate and the fact that so few etchings were sold, Van Sloun experimented with the monotype





Van Sloun warily sat for a photographer at the height of his career. Collection of the author.

The early Van Sloun etching "Happy Gathering" (c. 1903) exhibits a more traditional use of line. Collection of the author.



OPPOSITE: Modeling with shadow and light rather than line, "Dark Model" (c. 1929) evidences Van Sloun's modification of the etching technique. Fenton Corporation, San Francisco.



The artist's admiration for Rembrandt reflects in this 1937 etching "Seven Heads—Character Study." Fenton Corporation.

from 1902 to 1937. Interested in the graphic arts throughout his career, Van Sloun exhibited his etchings and monotypes on both the East and West coasts and remained an active member of the California Society of Etchers until his death.

The basic principle of producing a monotype or monoprint has remained the same since the seventeenth century. This process, as the name implies, gives but one print from the plate. The design is not engraved, etched, or cut but is painted on the surface of the smooth plate. Printer's ink or thinned oil paint is used to execute the composition. This is done by painting a design in reverse on a clean plate or by covering the plate evenly with a coating of ink and wiping the light areas with a stiff brush, bit of rag, or a sharp stick. Paper is then laid on the plate and an impression is made either by using a roller over the surface of the paper or by placing the plate and paper through an etching press. Since all the ink is taken up by the paper, another print cannot be made. Even if the inking of the design were done again as before, it could not be identical to the first one; hence each print is unique, a monotype.

Van Sloun was intrigued with the soft focus effect of the monotype, and he was challenged by the obvious problems in creating a perfect monotype because of the accidental nature of the medium. The composition had to be composed in reverse, and only one print was created from each composition. If the paper shifted when placed over the plate, or if the paper did not absorb the ink properly, the image was ruined. In most cases artists ended up saving very few prints because of the accidental nature of the medium.

Sufficiently challenged to overcome the problems of producing a good impression every time, Van Sloun developed special combinations of inks and oil paints that would retain the image and special processes for printing them, which were developed to such a fine degree that he invented a new kind of monotype, never before produced, which he termed the "pen monotype." For the first time in the history of monotypes, the artist was in command of the medium instead of being at its mercy. With his pen monotypes Van Sloun was able to create the preciseness of the etched line with the soft focus effect of a monotype. At first glance his prints appear to be etchings because of the plate mark and preciseness of the composition. In accomplishing this, Van Sloun was able to achieve some of the finest monotypes ever produced in the history of the medium.

Van Sloun's graphic accomplishments reflect middle-America rather than leisure-class women and the architectural subjects so much in vogue in his time. His New York period etchings are traditional, in that they are usually carried by line alone, but in his later California work he made a radical departure from the use of line, and the image was carried by the sharp contrast use of light and dark. In seeming contradiction, Van Sloun's early monotypes are carried by chiaroscuro, whereas in later years he developed his pen monotype which is carried by line alone. All told, Van Sloun, in his graphic works, achieved technical and artistic expressiveness never before known in the history of print making.

As an artist and craftsman, Van Sloun followed no particular school; he was intensely individualistic. His work has universal appeal. As a teacher in California, he had a strong influence on the Society of Six, particularly Louis Siegrist and Bernard von Eichman. His influence helped shape the future of those who were to emerge as the most important figurative realists on the West Coast.

Coming from New York, he brought a great natural talent disciplined with the finest American art education combined with intelligence and wit. The ease with which he painted, etched, and monotyped, and the pleasure he experienced from his art are evident in all his works. Above all else, Van Sloun was a draftsman. He saw figures, forms, and patterns first, though he was also a superb colorist.

A restless spirit impelled Van Sloun to search, create, and perfect throughout his career. Most artists work to achieve a special technique in a particular painting medium of a specific subject matter. Each time Van Sloun mastered a technique, medium, or subject, he looked for a greater challenge. His mastery of every medium seems to make his work more diverse than it really is, as there is an unmistakable underlying unity in his work which links his earliest paintings of the 1900 period to ones completed just before his death in 1938. The unity to Van Sloun's work is the American scene rendered realistically with the human figure as the central element in his art.

Van Sloun's greatness as an American artist did not only lie in his skills, training, and God-given talent as an artist, but more importantly in his American roots. He was completely a product of America, not only in his art training but in his subject matter and technique.

It is clear that Van Sloun should have stayed in New York had he been concerned about fame or recognition. No doubt had he stayed there, history would have ranked him with the best American artists of his day. After coming to San Francisco in 1911, Van Sloun refused all inducements from friends and colleagues to return to New York. Undoubtedly his refusal to return stemmed from his

Van Sloun's "The Three Graces" (c. 1930) evidences his mastery of composition and development of the monotype medium. Collection of the author.



recognition of the conflict between the realities of the New York art marketplace and his independent nature which would not allow him to play the politics of art. Van Sloun was a modest man who abhorred ballyhoo. He had an intense conviction that an artist's work was all that need concern the public, and that his private life, ideals, and philosophy were his own concern.

While throughout his life Van Sloun modestly refused to acknowledge any of his vast numbers of honors, affiliations, and works of art (standard biographical listings mention only his birth and death dates, and occasionally misspell his name), perhaps it is time that the record be set straight and his biographical listing be changed to read:

Van Sloun, Frank J. Portrait, figure, and landscape painter, graphic artist, muralist, and teacher. Born St. Paul, Minnesota, 1879. Died San Francisco, California, 1938. Studied Art Students' League and Chase School with Henri. Taught drawing, painting, composition, illustration, portraiture, and anatomy at California School of Fine Arts, Art Students' League, and Van Sloun School of Art, San Francisco; University of California, Berkeley; and Art Students' League, New York, from 1911 to 1936. Exhibited at National Academy of Design, Art Students' League and National Arts Club, New York; Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, Philadelphia Watercolor Club; San Francisco Art Association, San Francisco Museum of Art, Bohemian Club, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, DeYoung Museum, Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco Art Students' League, San Francisco; Oakland Museum; University of California, Berkeley; and numerous galleries on the East and West coasts. Member San Francisco Art Association, California Society of Etchers, Society of Mural Painters, Union Internationale des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres (29 years), Bohemian Club (27 years), served on the Bohemian Club Board of Directors and elected to "Special List of Fifty."



"Andalusians" (c. 1934), a "new process" etching, is one of several Van Sloun prints on a lesbian theme. Fentor Corp.



OPPOSITE: *"Earth Woman,"* a "pen monotype" from 1933, displays the artist's innovation in the medium. Park's Gallery, San Jose.

BELOW: *Van Sloun preferred subjects such as "Three Ladies of the Evening" (monotype, c. 1932) to more popular views of elegant women of leisure. Lorelei Rockwell and Wayne Kennedy Collection.*



Frank Van Sloun: California's Master Realist

Painter, muralist, graphic artist, and teacher, Frank Van Sloun was one of California's finest and most creative artists. A self-disciplined man with a wry sense of humor and a passion for reality, he is best known for his numerous easel and mural paintings. Intensely modest and of the belief that the artist's work is all that need and should concern the public, Van Sloun almost consciously assured that his honors and influence would go unexamined by art historians. Perhaps the major retrospective exhibition of some 200 works on display at the California Historical Society's San Francisco headquarters until the end of February will bring deserved recognition to this great California artist. The exhibit, assembled from collections throughout the country, includes oil, water color, and tempera paintings as well as sketches, monotypes, etchings, drawings, and mural cartoons. A richly illustrated volume of the life and works of Frank Van Sloun, designed by Andrew Hoyem, has been published in conjunction with the exhibit. The book by art dealer, author, and lecturer John Maxwell Desgrey is titled *Frank Van Sloun: American Realist*.

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, on November 4, 1879, Frank Joseph Van Sloun spent much of his boyhood on his grandfather's farm and in the nearby town where he made his first serious figure sketches. Equal to his love of art was his love for sports, but the year that he signed to play professional baseball with the St. Paul team, he abruptly chose instead to go to New York to pursue his career as an artist.

Arriving in New York in 1900, Van Sloun first studied at the Art Students' League and later at the Chase School under the crusading realist painter, Robert Henri. The artist, Henri taught, should mix art and life, avoid the traditional and genteel subjects in vogue such as leisure-class women and architectural studies, face controversial and unconventional ideas with political overtones, and resist the pressures to enter the world of commercial art. Van Sloun's fellow students under Henri included George Bellows, Edward Hopper, Rockwell Kent, John Sloan, and others who all came to respect Van Sloun's outstanding ability. Van Sloun also allied himself with the Society of Independent Artists and helped organize their first exhibition in 1910. Like his independent and "anti-Academy" (National Academy of Design) contemporaries, he disavowed the value of European training for American artists, spending his formative years solely in the United States. (Only at the height of his career in the 1930's did he travel to Europe to visit the great museums.)

Had Van Sloun stayed in New York, no doubt he would have won recognition as one of the best American artists of his day. Already in 1909 he had been made a member of the Union International des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres, a distinguished group of internationally known painters and writers. In 1911, however, recognizing the conflict between the New York art marketplace and his determinedly independent nature, he moved to San Francisco, resisting for the rest of his life all inducements from his friends and colleagues to return to New York except for brief visits.

In San Francisco, too, Van Sloun retained his independence. Having studied anatomy under Thomas Anchutz, Van Sloun determinedly remained one of the very few California artists who painted figure and genre subjects rather than landscapes. When Van Sloun, his close friend Maynard Dixon, and Jimmy Swinnerton traveled to the Arizona desert on a painting expedition, Dixon, a talented landscape artist, disappointedly acknowledged that Van Sloun saw little that inspired him to paint. Van Sloun preferred typical American people in everyday life, particularly what came to be known as "Ash Can" subjects.

As an artist and teacher, Frank Van Sloun helped shape future figurative realists on the West Coast and strongly affected Society of Six members Louis Siegfriest and Bernard Von Eichman. Van Sloun taught at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, the University of California at Berkeley, the San Francisco School of Fine Arts, and the Art Students' League in San Francisco. In 1918-19 he opened his own school called the Van Sloun School of Art at 21 City Hall in San Francisco, and in 1919-20 he returned to New York briefly to teach with Henri, Calder, and Max Weber at the Art Students' League.

A muralist as well, he completed sixty-three panels after his first California commission in 1914 for two lunettes at the mayor's office in the new Oakland City Hall. Forty of his murals remain throughout the state to be enjoyed today. In July, 1938, Van Sloun received a commission for three large mural decorations for the Agricultural Hall facing the Court of Flowers at the Golden Gate International Exposition. His oil sketches were approved, and as he was about to begin work on the canvasses, he suffered a fatal stroke at the age of fifty-nine on August 27, 1938. *Editor's Note.*

*Van Sloun's passion for the real, the mixing of art and life, led him to portray familiar American types such as "Papa and Mama" (etching, c. 1932).
Fenton Corporation.*



Van Sloun Portfolio



Van Sloun studied with the realist Henri in New York. The ink wash "New York Restaurant" (above) dates from 1904. Collection of the author.

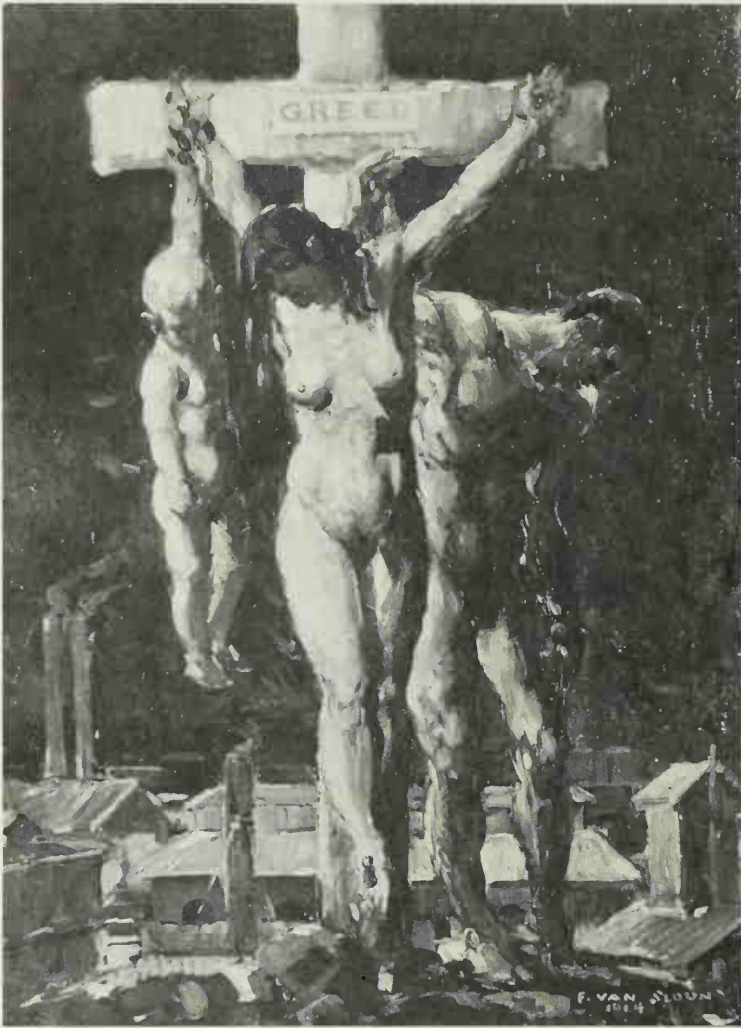
The oil on canvas "A Question" (left, c.1937) portrays an "Ash Can" subject ignored by most artists of the day. Austen D. Warburton Collection.



Van Sloun's artist friend Maynard Dixon posed for the monotype head, "The Prophet" (above). Phyllis Boynton Collection.



Typical Van Sloun American Scene subjects included the etching of "Annie of Polk Street" (left, 1935) and the mezzotint entitled "Young Man with Cigarette and Girl" (above, c. 1934). Fenton Corporation.



Van Sloun's only aggressively political work, the oil "Greed" (1914), portrays a mother and child crucified on a cross of economic and industrial avarice. John C. Jeffreys Collection.

Maynard Dixon collaborated in 1927 with Van Sloun on this gouache mural cartoon for the Mark Hopkins Hotel's Room of the Dons. Its title is "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way." Collection of the author.





A technically accomplished practitioner, Van Sloun satirized lax artistic standards in "Lecture on Modern Art" (above, 1937), in which a cleaning woman addresses the critics. Whereabouts unknown.



A San Francisco street intersection, "Turk and Masonic" (right), appeared in this 1931 oil painting and other Van Sloun works. K. Stanley and Catherine Thompson Collection.





Van Sloun's brother Edward, an actor appearing as a French officer in the play Divorcons, posed for this oil "Portrait of an Actor" which was first exhibited at the National Academy on 1910. For the painting Van Sloun was awarded a medal by the international jury of the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915. Collection of the author.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library

Compiled by LYNN BONFIELD DONOVAN, *manuscript librarian, and* LINDA CHISWICK, *intern assistant from Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.*

THE LIBRARY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is the repository for approximately 100 diaries. The following annotated bibliography has been prepared to facilitate and encourage the use of these valuable primary sources. Included in the bibliography are sixteen copies of diaries in the collections of other institutions. Fifty of CHS's diaries are listed, and the remainder will be included in a second bibliography to follow in a future issue of the *Quarterly*. A special word of appreciation goes to the many donors whose continuing support increases the value of the research material in the Library.

It is the desire to express and preserve a thought or an action that motivates many people to keep a diary. The kinds and classes of people who wrote and write diaries include the educated and the uneducated, the wealthy and the poor, the young and the old, the observant and the unobservant. Readers of diaries, on the other hand, generalize from an individual's unique story and discover a common bond of experiences, insights, and emotions with the diarist. When we look back in time, we are astonished at the quantum leaps taken by the world and its peoples. Diaries offer us a different perspective; they document civilization's consistencies throughout its transformations.

A glance at the bibliography reveals the variety of diarists represented in the Library's collection. Prominent California citizens Faxon Dean Atherton and Alfred Dean Wheeler and political activist Bernette G. Haskell were among the socially-conscious and civic-minded diarists. Clergymen P. F. Pitnam and Ferdinand C. Ewer proved to be sensitive recorders of society's moods and trends. The diaries of artist Helen Hyde and inventor Andrew S. Hallidie afford insights into creative minds. William C. Borlase and Jessie M. Post wrote exceptional travel diaries of places visited and people encountered in a world at once foreign and familiar to us today. The majority of diaries, however, remain those of undistinguished people whose recordings of daily events and observations reveal the concerns and issues affecting the common man and woman.

The Library's diaries represent an equally diverse range of dates and places. Six diaries span more than five years, even decades. The collection's earliest diary dates to 1774, the record of Fernando Javier Rivera y Moncada, Spanish military commander of California. Alfred Robinson's journals from the 1820's and 1830's document Yankee exploration of the West Coast and the first commercial trading with the Mexicans and Native Americans. Four other diaries also describe life in California before the discovery of gold.

It is not surprising that the collection contains an unusually large number of diaries written by westward-bound adventurers lured to California in 1849 and the years immediately following. Twenty-four describe overland journeys from the East Coast

to California; thirteen document equally hazardous sea voyages either around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama to the same destination point. Travel diaries record the experiences of mobile Americans whose occupations and adventuresome spirits took them around the United States and to South American coastal cities, Japan, and the Arctic.

Diaries were written for as many reasons as there were people to write them. They document a particular phase in a person's life, such as Lt. John McHenry Hollingsworth's tour of military duty with the First New York Volunteers in Mexican California. Diaries also served as the records of business enterprises. They reminded their authors of future responsibilities and of duties admirably performed. Many diarists wrote to ease loneliness or boredom or to savor and enjoy personal experiences. Only a few foresaw the historical significance of their diaries, and then only dimly.

The diaries exist in many different forms. Original texts are occasionally supplemented by handwritten and typed copies. Many were written on rule-lined copybooks or on loose-leaf pages collected in a folder. The various bindings and cover details in themselves afford a history of antiquarian books.

As a word of explanation it must be noted that this bibliography is restricted to diaries. Following the work of William Matthews, compiler of *American Diaries, An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861* (1945), a diary is defined in this study as "a day-by-day record of what interested the diarist, each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred." The bibliography does not include reminiscences, chronicles, or letters. Ships' logs that record the personal entries of ships' mates and diaries that briefly reminisce in order to bridge spans of time are included under the definition.

Emphasized in the bibliography are areas of interest in recent historical scholarship including the Native American and women. The Society's diaries of overland journeys

Overlanders crossing the plains in wagons like these recorded their often grim experiences.



are storehouses of information on Indian culture and Indian-emigrant relations; although diarists differed in approach and tone, all were fascinated by their encounter with the unfamiliar people and their way of life. In particular the little-used diary of George Osborne Wilson has been recognized as extremely valuable for its information on Indian linguistics. In the bibliography the names of Indian tribes recorded by the diarists have been standardized according to George P. Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (1941); Indian names not found in Murdock were left as written. Also of current interest are the eleven diaries written by women which add valuable insights into women's roles, models, attitudes, accomplishments, and social conditioning throughout the nineteenth century.

The bibliographer's entries are organized in the following manner: listed first are general facts, such as name, vital dates, place of birth (if known), place of residence(s) if different from place of birth, occupation(s), and any significant historical role. The next section of the paragraph identifies the diary's specific characteristics: the diary's time span, size of volume, and approximate number of pages; any art sketches or newspaper clippings; and any related material to, by, or about the author, such as letters. (The existence of the original text is assumed unless otherwise noted.) The third section of the listing describes the contents of the diary and analyzes the diary's readability and research value. Special note is made of particularly enjoyable and valuable diaries. Finally, the bibliography includes information about the publication of the diary or a portion of it.

More extensive information about diaries listed in the bibliography is available in the diary index forms filed in the CHS Library. Researched by CHS staff members, docents, Oberlin College intern students, and San Francisco State University students enrolled in Lynn Donovan's course in archives and research, these forms are complete descriptive guides that supply subject headings and name entries. Used in conjunction with each other, the bibliography and the diary index forms facilitate the use of the manuscripts by describing what is contained in the diaries.

ADAMS, Maria Abigail Henry (1836-1928) b. New Hampshire; boardinghouse keeper, dressmaker, wife, mother.

Diary, January 1860-July 1861, 27 pages.

Daily events in Dublin, New Hampshire, recorded by young woman whose husband is in California; weather, cost of purchases, village social events, friendship with family and other men and women; occasional expressions of loneliness and frustration.

ADAMS, Samuel (1810-1888), of New York; druggist.

Travel and daily diary, January 1849-March 1850, 250 pages; also handwritten copy.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn, with observations on nature and wildlife at sea; business pursuits and daily life in San Francisco; recurrent reflections on wife and children in New York. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection.

ANONYMOUS, member of Cayuga Joint Stock Company.

Travel diary, February-October 1849, May-June 1850, 59 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; sea voyage from San Francisco to Hawaii and return; complete membership list of Cayuga Joint Stock Company, a group organized to mine and trade in California; daily activities during journey, weather, ships, descriptions of Callao, Lima, Hawaii, and San Francisco; interesting account.

ATHERTON, Faxon Dean (1815-1877) b. Dedham, Massachusetts; businessman.

Travel and daily diary, 1836-1839, 122 pages.

Diary kept while employee of businessman Alpheus B. Thompson; many ships, commercial transactions, and other businessmen; experiences and impressions of Mexican California. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection.

Published: *The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836-1839*, edited and with an introduction by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1964).

BACHELDER, Dr. Amos (1811-1892) b. New Hampshire; doctor.

Typed copy of travel diary, June 1849-December 1850, 74 pages.

Overland journey from New Hampshire to Feather River, California, and return via the Isthmus of Panama; valuable sections on terrain, plant and animal life, Indians (Sioux, Pawnee, Snake, Panack [Bannock?], Hodges [?], Digger); assiduous attention to weather and mileage.

BACHMAN, Jacob Henry (1815-1879) b. New York; miner, justice of the peace.

Typed copy of travel diary, February 1849-November 1853, with notes to January 1878, 63 pages.

Member of Audubon-Webb company on overland journey from New York to San Francisco via Mexico and sea voyage from San Diego, settled at Fourth Crossing, California; hardships during journey, illness, death, provisions for livestock, skirmishes with Mexicans and Indians (Comanche, Papago, Pima, Huma), encounters with Chinese in California, terrain and weather; readable and informative.

Published: *California Historical Quarterly*, 21:289-310 (December 1942); 22:67-83 (March 1943).

Overland diarists frequently described harrowing journey experiences such as fording a river.



BAILEY, William Carey (1837-1913) b. Knoxville, Illinois; rancher.

Typed copy of travel diary, 1850-1866, 209 pages.

Overland journey from Iowa to Smith River Valley, California, via Salt Lake City (1853); visit to British Columbia and residence in San Francisco before settling at Smith River; references to politics, Lincoln's election, and slavery issue; events in Del Norte, San Mateo, and Siskiyou counties; very readable description of an unmarried rancher's daily life, visits with neighbors, farming routine, books read, church and theater attendance, occasional philosophical passages.

BAIRDE, B. P., of Elgin, Illinois.

Typed copy of travel diary, September-December 1852, 19 pages.

Sea voyage from Illinois to San Jose via Isthmus of Panama, accompanied by Marietta Clark Gifford and children; mock presidential election aboard ship, detailed sketches of places visited, prices of goods, lodging and passage; impressions of California; frequent religious allusions throughout this literate and articulate man's very readable account.

BEACH, Joseph Perkins (1828-1911) b. Massachusetts; merchant, ship clerk, newspaper editor.

Photostat of original diary, January 1849-November 1849, 200 pages.

Log of the *Apollo's* voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; complete record of ship's course, map of route, visits to Lima, Callao, and Rio de Janeiro, activities aboard ship; merchant business in San Francisco; the well-educated twenty-one-year-old Beach demonstrates acuity in business and personal affairs.

BEE, Albert Wilson (1821-1863) b. Oneida County, New York; miner, commercial

"The mountains around us today were covered with snow and the little streams that crossed our path were as cold as ice and pure as crystal. The Alpine character of all things around has made pleasant the day's journey. It is somewhat singular but no less true that whenever our path has led over or among the mountains, the journey has been pleasant and the toils of the day forgotten as we gathered around the evening fire. On the contrary when our course has been over plains each feels dejected and worn while the hardships and toils of the way form the only conversation. The wayfarer to California can truly exclaim with Mudie [?], 'Thanks be to God for mountains.'"

D. Jagger diary, July 23, 1849

"The storms are howling among the tall pines, and we know not how long they may continue. When with that we add the accounts that reach us of the snows being so deep just above, and the waters having cut off all communication with the city below us, we cannot prevent a feeling of almost utter desolation taking possession of our thoughts. It is said that the mind gains new strength from each and every obstacle overcome, and that difficulties, danger and misfortune alone . . . [*diary ends*]."

D. Jagger diary, January 10, 1850

businessman, constructed the first telegraph line across the Sierra linking California and Nevada.

Typed copy of travel diary, January-June, 1849, 33 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to California around Cape Horn; daily activities aboard ship, smallpox epidemic; Rio de Janeiro, Juan Fernandez, Placerville, and Austin, Nevada; highly readable and descriptive.

BLOOM, Henry Sterling, of Joliet, Illinois; miner.

Photostat of typed copy of travel diary, March 1850-May 1852, 65 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Greenwood Valley, California; weather, daily mileage, plants and wildlife, illness, Indians, food and supplies, homesickness; joined father who ran the Illinois House in Greenwood Valley, returned home by sea via Isthmus; complete expense account of return trip included.

BORLASE, William C. (1849-1899) b. England; author, journalist.

Travel diary, 1875, 280 pages.

Social and educational journey through America via railroad and coach; Civil War and Reconstruction, including New Orleans Riot of September 14, 1874; Indian Delegation of Grievances; Chicago Fire of 1871; landmarks, social customs, law and order, architecture, Indians (Digger, Sioux, Choctaw, Sante Fe, Modoc), Blacks, women, Mormons; a thorough, valuable, and entertaining description of America through the eyes of a British gentleman and experienced traveler.

Incorporated in: *Sunways: A Record of Rambles in Many Lands* (Plymouth: W. Borendon & Son, 1878), pp. 87-255.

BRALY, Susannah Hyde (1805-1897), of Missouri; housewife, mother.

Diaries, 1867-1896, thirty volumes.

Wife of Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, John Eusebius Braly, who settled near Santa Clara, California, in 1847; religious thoughts, family life, and trips to Missouri, San Francisco, and neighboring communities; repetitious.

BREEN, John (1832-1903) b. Canada; miner, farmer, postmaster.

Diary, August 1853-January 1855, 150 pages.

Includes daily events in San Juan Bautista and home, weather, holidays, poetry; reflects little education and strict religious training.

BROWN, Orlando (1829-?), of Wisconsin; laborer.

Travel diary, April 1852-June 1853, 139 pages.

Overland journey from Madison, Wisconsin, to Portland, Oregon, with cattle train; description of travels and search for work in Northern California, observations on work conditions in mines and farms and on boats, concern with financial interactions; a few anecdotes on frontier justice.

CALL, Asa Cyrus (1823-?), of Iowa; student, farmer, cattle rancher, schoolteacher, judge.

Bound, typed copy of travel and daily diary, 1850-1853, 48 pages.

Overland journey from Indiana to Sonora, California; records agricultural development, weather, insects, animals, and plants of the Sonora region; Indians (Panama [Panamint?], Nez Perce); Oberlin College; philosophical essays on slavery, death, the family, and nature; an exciting record of an articulate and intelligent young man's adventures and observations during the early period of California settlement.

CHALMERS, Robert (1820-1886) b. Kilbarnick, Scotland; rope maker, fireman, miner, hotel owner, tax collector, El Dorado County treasurer, California state representative (1886).

Photocopy of travel diary, April–September 1850, 43 pages.

Overland journey from eastern Canada to California; cholera epidemic, detailed account of Indians (Crow, Shoshoni, Pawnee, Sioux), terrain, hardships during journey, personal tragedies; an observant and curious adventurer.

COSAD, David, of New York; miner, carpenter.

Travel diary, March 1849–February 1850, 73 pages.

Overland journey from New York to Placerville; supplies for and hardships of journey, gold mining, Indians (Potawatomi, Pawnee, Sioux), Blacks; detailed and varied interests.

COWDEN, James S. (1826 [?]-?), of Keosauqua, Iowa.

Photocopy of travel diary, April–October 1853, 44 pages.

Overland journey by ox-team wagontrain from Iowa to Yreka City; weather and grazing conditions, land speculation on the Plains and possibility of transcontinental railroad, Indians (Sioux), law and order; an optimistic traveler with a pleasant style and detailed appreciation of landscape.

CRANSTONE, Susan Marsh.

Typed copy of travel diary, May–August 1851, 16 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri River to Columbia River, Oregon; Indians (Shions [Cheyenne?], Sioux), travel and grazing conditions; little description or interpretation.

DEY, R. L., of Oakland, California.

Travel diary, April–June of unknown year (Alaska gold rush of 1898?), 40 pages.

Journey from Ambler City, Alaska, to Cape Nome, Alaska, with fifteen men; gold mining, group morale, survival techniques, Indians (Selwick [?]); readable account.

DOBIE, William, of Michigan; stockkeeper in retail store.

Diary and reminiscence, 1872–1873, 80 pages.

Overland journey from Chicago to San Francisco by railroad; reminiscence of decision to emigrate, description of places visited, characterizations of fellow travelers and friends; engaging writing style.

“It was hard to part with them, two of my dearest friends, but life is a season of perpetual change, an everlasting series of good-byes and how-di-dos; and God knows I have had my full share of them.”

William Dobie diary, 1872

EGBERT, Eliza Ann McAuley (1835-?), of Iowa.

Typed copy of travel diary, April–September 1852, 57 pages.

Overland journey by ox team from Iowa to Dutch Flat, California; Indians (Sioux, Pawnee), travel and grazing conditions; interesting record of seventeen-year-old girl's impressions and activities.

EWER, Ferdinand Cartwright (1826–1883) b. Massachusetts; student, author, publisher, customs house collector, Episcopal clergyman, individual of local and national prominence.

Diary, 1826-1860, 323 pages, includes newspaper clippings, letters, geneology charts, photographs.

Childhood in Massachusetts, education at Harvard University, sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn (1849); California publications, San Francisco politics and governance boards (Vigilance Committee, Know-Nothing Party, Board of Education), Grace Episcopal Church, business and social engagements with other notable San Franciscans, occasional references to family; written with intelligence and wit.

Biography: Henry Raup Wagner, "The Life of Ferdinand C. Ewer," *California Historical Quarterly*, 13:291-300 (December 1934); 14:74-79 (January 1935).

FARGO, Martha True (1834-1873), of Portage, Wisconsin; wife, mother.

Typed copy of diary, 1864, 20 pages.

Brief account of sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; notes husband's participation in San Francisco Democratic party and national election, daily domestic activities; laconic entries without interpretation.

FARQUHAR, David Webber (1844-1905), of Boston; bookkeeper.

Travel and daily diary, October 1862-August 1864, 47 pages; also typed copy, 12 pages.

Sea voyage from Holliston, Massachusetts, to San Francisco, via Isthmus of Panama; detailed description of Panama crossing, wild life, ships, scenery; in San Francisco from October 1862 to February 1863, employed as bookkeeper by Hooker & Co.; in Sacramento from February 1863 to July 1864, employed by J. P. Carolan Co.; returned to New York by sea, July 1864. Manuscript collection includes typed diaries of other trips to East, 1883-1889.

GRISWOLD, Harriet Booth, of Kane County, Illinois; wife, mother.

Travel diary, April-October 1859, 83 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Diamond Springs, California; Indians, child care, weather and travel conditions; an uneventful yet well-written account.

"Converging to where the river formed several pleasant curves, we passed a number of Indian trails, but their footsteps are growing faint even in this their western home. Frémont says that the Indian and Buffalo form the poetry of prairie life, a fact we could easily comprehend when towards evening we saw a band on horseback scouring the plain in pursuit of a flock of deer or antelope."

D. Jagger diary, June 11, 1849

HALLIDIE, Andrew Smith (1836-1900) b. England; engineer, inventor, author, originator of cable car transportation, regent of the University of California.

Travel diary, January-May 1852, 120 pages.

Sea voyage from Liverpool to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; mechanisms of ships and machinery encountered during journey, cities visited, antics and characterizations of fellow passengers; a readable account.

HASKELL, Burnett G. (1857-1907) b. Sierra County, California; lawyer, labor leader, socialist, founder of Kaweah Colony.

Diaries, volume I, December 1878-July 1879; volume II, 1885-1886; 70 pages.

Volume I: courtship of Sophie McFarlane, poems and newspaper clippings from the *Argonaut*, mention of Socialist Union League; volume II: San Francisco labor organizations, especially the International Workingman's Association, labor strikes and riots, lists of labor newspapers throughout the nation; informative accounts.

HIXON, Jasper Morris (1807 [?]-?) b. Bowling Green, Kentucky, of Missouri; merchant. *Typed copy of travel diary, May-August 1849, 44 pages.*

Overland journey from Missouri to California via Carson Pass; geology, engineering, Indians (Potawatomi, Pawnee, Sioux, Crow, Flathead), travel supplies and conditions; a highly entertaining and accurate account of a well-educated, successful merchant who harbored an uncommon suspicion of the gold rush fever.

Published: *Los Angeles Herald*, January 13, 1890-April 30, 1890, in installments.

HOLLINGSWORTH, John McHenry (1823-1889) b. Baltimore; lieutenant in the First New York Volunteers (Stevenson's Regiment), superintendent of Mount Vernon.

Travel diary, September 1846-August 1849, 327 pages; also typed and printed copies, illustrated with pencil and watercolor sketches of South America and California scenes.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco, Monterey, and Los Angeles around Cape Horn; military life and discipline, Mexicans, Indians, social life in California, gold prospecting, poetry, newspaper clippings; a notable diary.

Published: *California Historical Quarterly*, 1:207-270 (January 1923); *The Journal of Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1923).

HYDE, Helen (1868-1919) b. New York; artist.

Diaries, 1881-1882, 120 pages, illustrated with pencil sketches.

Daily activities of young girl growing up in a wealthy San Francisco family; holidays, painting and piano lessons, theater-going, father's death, President Garfield's assassination; dramatic style. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection spanning life and career.

Artist Helen Hyde's adolescent diary and pencil sketches are part of a larger manuscript collection spanning her life and career.



S. W. Henry Hollingsworth.
 Lieutenant 7th Regiment
 U. S. A. Volunteers.
 Maryland.

PELVIC CHARACTERISTICS.—We clip from the London Inquirer these two strange extracts from a book lately published in London called *Life of Agrippa*.
THE PRE-EMINENCE OF WOMAN.—Even after death nature respects her inherent modesty, and the drowned woman floats on her face, and a drop of blood falling on the forehead is the man's head is liable to be blown off, while the woman is never bald. The man's face is often so filthy by a most odious beard, and so covered with scurf, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from the face of a wild beast. In woman the face is always clean, and she remains pure and decent. The hair of the women were, by the laws of the two kingdoms, forbidden to rub their cheeks; yet hair should grow and obscure their blushing modesty. The most evident proof of the innate purity of female sex is that a woman, having once washed her face, if she wash in second water will not soil it. The man is never clean, though he should wash in ten successive waters, he will cloud and blacken them all.
OF FEMALE WISDOM.—Aristotle may say that of all animals man is the wisest, and wiser than the female, but he writes that weak things have been chosen to conduct the strong. Adam was sublimely endowed, but woman bumbled him; Sampson was strong, but woman made him captive. Lot was religious, but woman corrupted him; Job was patient, and was robbed by the devil of fortune and family; Abner, grieved and oppressed, nothing provoked him to anger till a woman did it, therein proving herself stronger than the devil.

INGALLS, Eleaser S. (1820-?) b. New Hampshire; lawyer, judge, blacksmith, newspaper publisher.

Travel diary, March–September 1850, 80 pages; also typed copy.

Overland journey from Illinois to Placerville through Humboldt Canyon Pass; Indians (Sioux, Digger, Pawnee, Shoshoni, Sauk), law and order, deaths and graves along route, assiduous attention to mileage, weather, landmarks, and hazards of journey; a valuable account of a literate and hardworking pioneer.

JAGGER, D., of Warren, Ohio; miner, shopkeeper, bookkeeper.

Travel diary in three segments: August 1846, April 1849–January 1850, and infrequent additions to February 1860, 243 pages, including many newspaper clippings, illustrations, and maps.

Exploratory journey (1846) into Canada and Lake Superior region with attention to copper mining and fur enterprises; historical account of capture and settling of Quebec and environs; overland journey (1849) from Ohio to Sacramento and Georgetown, California, through South Pass and Sublette's Cutoff, Indians (Pawnee, Digger),



John McHenry Hollingsworth, a lieutenant in the First New York Volunteers, kept an illustrated diary of his travels and experiences in California.

Indian burial customs, illnesses and deaths during journey, holidays, complete list of supplies and price values for journey, educated observations of botany, geology, and ornithology; further notations (1850-1860) about business ventures and settling in California; highly readable with personal reflections and judgments.

MALOON, Mary Eliza Warner (1849-1922) b. Walworth County, Wisconsin.

Travel diary, March-July 1864, 55 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Sardine Valley, California; Indians, horses, scenery, food, weather; an elementary style does not detract from this fourteen-year-old girl's vivid impressions.

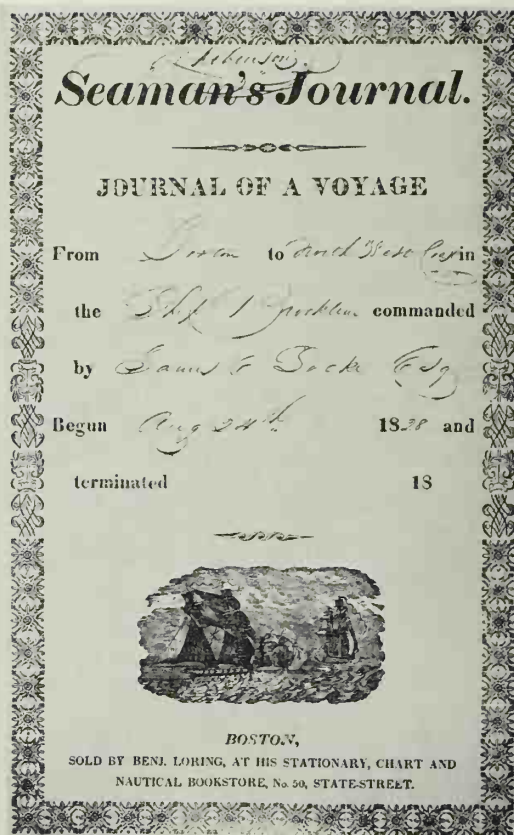
PARTRIDGE, Sam C. (1865-1900), of Oakland, California; photography shop owner.

Diary, January-June 1882, 150 pages.

Includes student life at Oakland High School, religious instruction, friendships, Chinese in San Francisco; factual and unemotional recording.



Alfred Robinson, businessman
and author of the classic
Life in California, kept a journal
of his 1828-29 voyage to California
in this book printed especially
for the purpose.



POST, Jessie M., of Rochester, New York.

Travel diary, January-May 1891, 135 pages.

Daily account of a cross-country vacation by railroad, visiting relatives, major monuments, and cities; social contacts of primary concern to this young, well-bred woman accompanied by two aunts, but a social conscience leads to observations on the Chinese, Mormons, Blacks, rural and southern women; occasional comments on personal behavior and philosophy.

POWELL, John Wesley (1857-1921) b. Jerusalem, Ohio; miner.

Travel diary, April-September 1859, 100 pages; also handwritten copy.

Overland journey from Iowa to Placerville by ox team; good description of travel conditions, Salt Lake City, Indian encounters, Fort Kearney; repetitive, unreliable.

PUTNAM, R. F., of Massachusetts; Episcopal clergyman.

Diary, 1862-1876, 340 pages.

Thorough descriptions of church functions and duties, social and business activities; includes sea voyage to California via Isthmus of Panama, and excursions to Oregon, Vancouver, and Yosemite; Indians (Sioux, Digger, Tar Head [?]), mining, Grass Valley history; extensive detail and characterization.

RIVERA y MONCADA, Fernando Javier; Spanish military commander of California (1774-1777).

Signed diary, September 2, 1774–December 31, 1774, 21 unnumbered leaves.

Used as a report to Spanish viceroy, diary details military activity in California, especially Presidio of Monterey, with frequent mention of San Diego, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo; lists of soldiers, craftsmen, and servants living in early Spanish settlements appended to diary, dated January 1, 1775, may be construed as one of earliest census records of California.

ROBINSON, Alfred (1807–1895) b. Boston; ship's clerk, agent for commercial shipping firm, business executive, author.

Ship journals with personal entries, volume I, 1828–29, 1837–38; volume II, 1829; 200 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to Northwest Coast in ship *Brookline*, August 1828–February 1829. Also journal of a voyage from Santa Barbara to Boston, December 1837–March 1838. Volume II contains the journal on the coast of California, 1829, and copies of letters written to businessmen in the East, 1831–1835. Subjects include California missions, Indians, Mexican government, Anglo-American conquest; letters, drawings, poems. Diaries accompanied by manuscript collection.

SHEPARD, Isaac, Jr. (d. 1850), of New York.

Travel diary, April 1849–January 1850, 70 pages, includes poetry and sketches.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; member of Cayuga Joint Stock Company, an organization engaged in gold mining and trading in California; wild life in the South Atlantic and South Pacific oceans, weather, ship's route, activities aboard ship, characterizations of Cayuga Company members.

SMITH, Azariah, of Missouri; member of San Diego Mormon Battalion, Sutter's Mill employee, miner.

Photostat of travel diary, December 1846–July 1848, 20 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to San Diego and the commencement of his return to Missouri; gold discovery at Sutter's Mill, Mormons' military service, Indians; readable and informative.

SMITH, Charles W., of Indiana.

Travel diary, April–August 1850, 170 pages.

Overland journey from Indiana to Weber Creek, California; characterizations of fellow travelers, Indians (Sioux, Digger), road and livestock conditions, distances traveled; highly articulate and descriptive with occasional religious quotations.

Published: *Journal of a Trip to California Across the Continent from Weston, Missouri, to Weber Creek, California, in the Summer of 1850*, edited and with an introduction and notes by R. W. G. Vail (New York, 1920).

SMITH, Martha Ann Grover (1833–1906), of Wiscasset, Maine; housewife.

Copy of travel diary, October–November 1854, 10 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to New York to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; twenty-year-old woman traveling with her new husband, Edward Hall Smith, describes weather and ship's daily progress, tropical flora and fauna, overland crossing of Isthmus, yellow fever epidemic on ship, San Francisco, journey to Sacramento and Kenaha Valley where they settled.

THOMAS, Joseph N. (1818–?), of Independence, Missouri; miner.

Travel diary, May 1849–February 1850, 61 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to California via the Santa Fe Trail; travel conditions of companions and animals, Indians (Cheyenne, Pawnee, Anpachch [?], Yeomut [?]), Mormons, Kit Carson, Mexicans in California; repetitious, but some notable and informative segments.

WATSON, Margaret Wickham (1891–1934); French teacher and translator, writer.

Diary, 1921–1925, 1931–1934; six volumes.

Describes publishing house employment in New York City, other writers, literary social events, meeting with Frederick O'Brien and subsequent friendship until his death in 1932, move to Bay Area in 1922 and work with O'Brien; discusses some feminist topics including feelings toward marriage, abortion, parents and friends; suicide in 1934 after long period of depression.

WHEELER, Alfred (1820–1903), of New York, lawyer.

Travel diary, May–November 1849, 60 pages.

Daily log of sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; detailed description of shipboard life, weather, ship's course, and attitudes of passengers; entertaining story.

WILSON, George Osborne (1828–1879), b. East Machias, Maine; hunter, speculator.

Travel diary, 1849–1851, 88 pages.

Sea voyage from Maine to San Francisco around Cape Horn; voyage from San Francisco to Puget Sound; account of hunting expedition in Oregon Territory; careful observations of sea conditions, location, other ships, birds, fish; extensive details of Oregon Indians, their relationships and language; a valuable picture of a new westerner's frontier life.

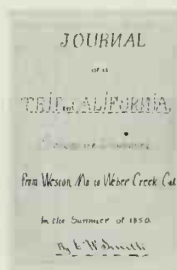
"Sea smooth. . . . All hands receive a shock from the Duct Galvanometer. The 2nd Mate and one of the Crew had a *brush* with their tongues and concluded not to try their Batteries upon each other. All hands getting tired of each other and wish that the voyage might soon come to its termination. A discussion this morning before breakfast; some exciting language used, but no blows struck. Question: Can one person teach another things that he does not know himself? A ballot of the house was not taken."

George O. Wilson diary, January 24, 1849

WILSON, Robert Milton (1828–1883) b. Osage County, Missouri; medical doctor, miner/pro prospector, livery stable businessman.

Typed copies (two variations) of travel diary, April 1850–April 1851, 23 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to California by ox team, care of companions, illnesses and deaths, provisions, livestock conditions, mining, Indians, law and order, prostitution; a detailed account by a hard-working, literate man.



Book Reviews

INSTANT CITIES: URBANIZATION AND THE RISE OF SAN FRANCISCO AND DENVER.
By Gunther Barth. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. 311 pp. \$11.95.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Reviews Editor.*

American historians have finally discovered the far western city. After decades of concentrating on the story of the rural and "wild" west, scholars now are seriously studying the development of urban society in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions. Such studies are long overdue; California has been one of the most urbanized states in the union for more than a century.

The latest example of the new emphasis on urban history is Gunther Barth's account of the rapid growth of San Francisco and Denver immediately following the California and Colorado gold rushes. Barth contends that these two "instant cities" exemplify "an urban tradition of more than two thousand years," stretching back to the creation of Hellenic colonies on the shores of the Mediterranean. He finds parallels between the development of San Francisco and Denver and that of the Central European mining towns formed during the late Middle Ages. Curiously, Barth ignores another historical parallel: the "silver rushes" to Spanish-American mining centers such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato during the mid-sixteenth century.

But while emphasizing broad historical similarities, Barth also claims that San Francisco and Denver had some distinctive characteristics. The two cities were "unique variants of the instant city in the United States," and he contrasts their chaotic growth with the ordered development of Salt Lake City and the relative stagnation of Monterey, Santa Fe, and Champoege.

These broad comparisons and contrasts are the most valuable parts of the book. Unfortunately, his treatment of the history of San Francisco and Denver is impressionistic and contains little that is new. Barth believes that the instant citizens of the new western metropolises were "out to make themselves rich, not to build cities"; thus, there arose conflict between the strong individual desire for wealth and freedom and the social necessity for cooperation and order. He contends that it was this conflict, magnified by explosive population and economic growth, that made San Francisco and Denver so different from other American cities and so similar to each other. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, technology in the form of cable cars, trolleys, and telephones "stripped the instant cities of their most distinctive features" and made them increasingly similar to urban centers around the country.

Barth too often is content to state rather than demonstrate his points. He assumes but does not try to prove that internal social conflicts in San Francisco and Denver were substantially different from those in rapidly growing cities in the East and Midwest—Chicago or Cincinnati for example. He dismisses as "superficial," and thus does not seriously discuss, the social and cultural effects of the differences in geography between the port city of San Francisco and the landlocked community of Denver.

Instant Cities, then, raises as many questions as it answers about the history of San Francisco and Denver. Fortunately, they are the kinds of questions that are grist for the historian's mill. Barth's generalizations will be tested, challenged, and in many cases probably confirmed by other scholars, and in the process we will learn a great deal more than we now know about the development of the far western city.

NO TEARS FOR THE GENERAL: THE LIFE OF ALFRED SULLY, 1821-1879. By Langdon Sully. (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1974. Foreword by Ray Allen Billington. 255 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$9.95).

TO UTAH WITH THE DRAGOONS AND GLIMPSES OF LIFE IN ARIZONA AND CALIFORNIA 1858-1859. Edited by Harold D. Langley. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974. xvi, 230 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$8.50).

Reviewed by WILLIAM F. STROBRIDGE, a Regular Army officer stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco.

New, eyewitness information on Northern California during the years 1849-1853 highlights *No Tears for the General*. Written by Brigadier General Alfred Sully's grandson and based on Sully's nineteenth-century letters, the book covers American California and the Plains frontier, plus intervals concerning the Vera Cruz campaign in Mexico and a year of Civil War fighting on the eastern seaboard. History overlooked General Sully as an Indian campaigner, in the author's view, a neglect he seeks to correct with this book.

In addition to 350 letters preserved by his family, Sully's biography is sharpened by General Sully's own art work, including three water colors from the Oakland Museum. After relating his experiences in Mexico, Sully describes high civilian wages and Army desertions in gold rush California while he was stationed at Monterey. Refused permission to go to the gold mines himself, he was transferred to Benicia, the "meanest, most uncomfortable place in California." About a third of the book is devoted to California. Numerous quotations from the career soldier's letters, plus his contemporary illustrations of town and rancho life, vividly portray a Philadelphia-bred, West Point-educated lieutenant's view of the *Californios*, rapid changes in their life style, and of the state's wildlife now disappeared.

Sent back to Monterey from the Benicia Army post, Sully painted scenery for the town's theatre. Like many American officers, he dined at the Jimeno home. Protestant Sully fell in love with the Catholic family's young daughter. Thoughts of leaving the Army subsequent to his marriage to the Jimeno girl were dashed by the deaths of his young wife and baby son. Following a visit to the de la Guerra household in Santa Barbara, Sully suffered a second tour at Benicia and eventually headed east for duty in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

With the outbreak of war between the North and South, Sully remained a Union officer. Ordered back to the frontier from Virginia because of the Sioux uprising, Sully was sympathetic to the Indians but nevertheless a hard campaigner. Instead of the Indian reservation concept, Sully recommended that the United States establish a mission system for the tribes similar to the one in Old California.

Reverting to his peace time rank, Sully was kept on the Plains despite increasingly poor health. No fan of George Custer and bitter over his own post-war treatment, Sully, too ill to mount his horse, moved from fort to fort and died at Vancouver Barracks in 1879.

Californians can be glad that the author has deposited General Sully's letters at the Huntington Library where other researchers may find additional descriptions of the soldier's California acquaintances and West Point classmates not contained in this book. For historian detectives, the author leaves Sully's water colors of Shasta and the Rogue River to find after they disappeared forty years ago.

While Sully went east for the Civil War, California Volunteers went to Utah. Much of *To Utah With the Dragoons*, an account of an earlier, Regular Army expedition

against the Mormons in 1858, explains indirectly why Patrick Connor and his Third California were not enthusiastically greeted by Salt Lake City's population in 1862. Written by an enlisted man for the *Philadelphia Bulletin* in 1858-1859 and edited by the Smithsonian's Harold D. Langley for modern readers, the account describes Army camp life and soldier attitudes in the pre-Civil War West.

Signing his newspaper copy as "Utah," the anonymous scribe for the *Bulletin*, whom Langley believes to be a twenty-eight-year-old German immigrant turned soldier, was wounded during an Indian engagement. He then joined a cattle drive to Southern California, where he was surprised to find bars and gambling houses open in Los Angeles on Sunday. Reporting on the Gila mines and events in California from March to May, 1859, "Utah" experienced his first earthquake. The *Bulletin* stopped printing his California letters, roughly one quarter of this book, in June, 1859.

Both books have bibliographies and are indexed. Fort Yuma, an important supply base, is mentioned by "Utah" but omitted from the index. Descriptions of California in *No Tears for the General* and *To Utah With the Dragoons* supply fresh insights on the workaday West by two men trained to be observant. For unearthing new sources, California history buffs can be grateful to Langdon Sully and Harold Langley.

THE ENDURING GIANTS. By Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr. (Berkeley: University Extension, University of California, 1973. 120 pp. Illustrations, maps. Paper. \$4.50.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, assistant director for publications, Forest History Society, Santa Cruz.

Blessed with abundant and varied scenic natural resources, California, like the rest of the nation, has reflected a persisting ambivalence toward its natural inheritance. The issue of preservation versus use, complex and often bitterly debated, has surfaced repeatedly in the past century, notably but not exclusively in efforts to establish national and state parks. Engbeck's *The Enduring Giants* combines a beautifully written natural history of California's giant sequoias (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*) with a well-researched and detailed history of the struggle to establish Calaveras Big Trees State Park. The book is impressively illustrated.

Engbeck's natural history of the giant sequoia (not to be confused with the coastal redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*), is poetic, evoking a sense of the forest in its seasons and complex life patterns. Plant and animal communities are described, and a geologic history of the redwoods is included. Engbeck means to show us that a forest environment is like a symphony; the more we understand its complex interrelationships, the deeper our appreciation will be.

With the discovery of the giant sequoias by Zenas Leonard in 1833, western history overlaps with natural history, and the tone and content of the second half of the book are distinctively different from that of the first half. Engbeck credits the Indians with first discovery of the sequoias, and after describing their life ways and attitudes toward the big trees, launches into the story of the white man's impact on the Calaveras groves.

The Calaveras groves, east of Sacramento, are part of a 250-mile belt of scattered groves of giant sequoias along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. By focusing on Calaveras, Engbeck is able to supply a wealth of information about individuals, events, and processes involved in preserving the local groves. Prominent conservationists such as John Muir, Stephen T. Mather, Horace M. Albright, Newton Drury, Aubrey Drury, and J. C. Sperry are part of the story. The author is successful in generating a sense of how the preservation effort felt from the inside as group after group tried and failed to

save the groves until final success in 1954. But although the narrative touches upon events elsewhere in the sequoia belt, reference to the larger conservation picture in California and the nation would have clarified some of the Calaveras difficulties.

The basic problem was that the Calaveras groves had become private property in the 1850's, and the price tag continually escalated out of reach as ownership changed and time passed. Lumbering interests acquired the property, and preservation efforts became desperate. Yet, it seems clear that competition with other conservation efforts partly explains why major attention was not granted early to the Calaveras groves. The large scale organizational push that culminated with the establishment of Yosemite and Sequoia national parks south of Calaveras in 1890 diverted effort and attention from Calaveras. John Muir and the Sierra Club were fighting to save Hetch-Hetchy from 1907 to 1913, and the Save-the-Redwoods League was concerned primarily with the more endangered coastal redwoods. The latter made excellent lumber, in contrast to the brittle, low-grade lumber obtained from the giant sequoias, and was being cut at a rapid rate. Still, in the end, the Sierra Club helped, and the Save-the-Redwoods League came through with a crucial one-million dollar donation from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1954.

The Enduring Giants is aimed at the general reader. No reference is made to primary source material, and the selected bibliography will not be of interest to the California historian.

LOS ANGELES: EPIC OF A CITY. By Lynn Bowman. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1974. 398 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00)

Reviewed by JOHN CAUGHEY, *professor of history, University of California, Los Angeles.*

Felicitously written and rich in anecdote, Lynn Bowman's *Los Angeles* should attract many readers. The prime accounts have been Will Robinson's *Los Angeles, a Profile* (1968) and John D. Weaver's *L.A.: El Pueblo Grande* (1973), each a slender volume, and Remi Nadeau's well-balanced *Los Angeles from Mission to Modern City* (1960). Much further back one comes to James M. Guinn's *Los Angeles and Environs* (1915), not to mention J. Albert Wilson's elaborately illustrated inventory of 1880. Among the modern works, Bowman's is much the most generous with details.

Though familiar with the scene, Mrs. Bowman is less thoroughly at home in this local history than Robinson or Weaver or Nadeau. This leads to an occasional slip, as in referring to John C. Frémont as "tall," or in placing the start and finish of the famous match race between Black Swan and Sarco four-and-a-half miles down the San Pedro road rather than at the pueblo.

After a chapter on the founding of the pueblo, her book has three chapters on Remoteness, Warfare, and Ranchos, each dated 1781-1848. These are not the inevitable three topics for the Spanish and Mexican periods, and running through this time zone three times may confuse. But the book's 140 pages allow for generous detail on the processes of building up the community to three or four thousand souls.

A chapter on Los Angeles as a tough cowtown carries to 1868. A more miscellaneous recital on the Chinese massacre, decline of banditry, entrance of railroads, real estate speculations, and a backyard oil boom extends the coverage to 1900. Another chapter involving moviemaking, the first aqueduct, the Pacific Electric, Griffith Park, the Times bombing, and America's first international air meet, culminates with the Olympics of 1932. These 150 pages describe the remarkable expansion of Los Angeles, still very much

with the aspect of a country town, but now an impressive aggregate of a million-and-a-quarter Angelenos, fiercely loyal, though many of them had just arrived on the scene.

The foregoing undoubtedly is part of the epic of this city. Ahead lay the ordeal of the Great Depression, the war industries, a Great Prosperity built on automobiles, plane building, more lucrative contracts for the Cold War, the fighting in Korea and Vietnam, and the race to the moon. Los Angeles would become freeway city, embark upon high rise, and acquire many attributes of sophistication. It would also swell to a metropolitan cluster of seven to ten million persons. For this epic climax the author saved only one chapter and a brief epilogue.

The current bicentennial revivalism encourages a retreat into the more distant past. Mrs. Bowman's mode of operation also pushed her in that direction. With little resort to scholarly journals or to manuscript materials, she immersed herself in the substantial library of standard reminiscences and reference books on Los Angeles. Seemingly she passed over such writers as Rice, Brewer, Fogelson, Baur, Salvador, Walker, Mayo, Ostrom, and Outland, but made good use of the writings of numerous others such as Newmark, Bell, Bancroft, Guinn, Bolton, Cleland, Sánchez, Bixby-Smith, Dumke, Hill, Robinson, Nadeau, and company. This entire body of literature, as is well known, is strongest on the nineteenth and very early twentieth century, which may well suggest that many readers will accept a city history so constructed.

James Madison Alden: Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854-1860. By Franz Stenzel. (Fort Worth. Amon Carter Museum, 1975. 209 pp. Illustrations in color and black and white. \$25.00.)

Reviewed by JOSEPH A. BAIRD, *professor at University of California, Davis.*

This handsome, hardback book was designed in part to accompany an exhibition of James Alden's water colors and pencil drawings which is touring six midwestern and western American museums from Oklahoma to Alaska. It is, however, far more definitive than the usual exhibition catalogue and constitutes a thorough study of a relatively short period in the long life of the artist—one which is of great documentary importance for the then comparatively unknown area of California to the Northwest. Since James Madison Alden (1834-1922) was both the artistic heir of the artists of numerous voyages of discovery to the Pacific and a keen observer in his own right, there is a sustained continuation here of what had been occasional, chance encounters between earlier draughtsmen and these "exotic" new sites—Alden was the artist of the United States Survey of the West Coast from 1854 to 1857 and official artist of the Northwestern Boundary Survey from 1858 to 1860.

Dr. Franz Stenzel and his wife Kathryn have themselves a major group of Alden water colors of the 1850's; in investigating the places represented on them and the facts of the artist's life, they added ever increasing knowledge about the other works of this period. The present book is the distillation of that knowledge, with numerous illustrations of all of Alden's work of this crucial epoch in Western history—partly as an exhibition catalogue, but more significantly as a definitive record of all presently-known information about the artist's life and work from 1854 to 1860. (Prologue and epilogue chapters give the facts of his training before 1854 and his later work as well.)

The book follows on the recently published study of Cleveland Rockwell by Dr. Stenzel—a similarly composed and illustrated monograph on another early Western artist—like Alden imperfectly known and with numerous works needing assembly into

a unified whole. Both books underly a long term project of Dr. and Mrs. Stenzel to provide a complete survey of the artists of the Pacific Northwest—which all students of western art will continue to await with enthusiasm. Both of the presently published studies are characterized by much the same *modus operandi* and style. The biography of the artist is thoroughly studied and laid out in an orderly fashion from period to period, with accompanying aesthetic notes of a succinct nature. Dr. Stenzel is essentially a recorder of facts; his style is straightforward and plain. The paragraphs are short, the sentences unadorned.

There is in the present work a lesser amount of speculative interpolation by the author, with cautious “probablys” where he wishes to make clear that these inferences are not certainties. The book, in essence, is a thoughtfully detailed, almost day-by-day log of Alden’s travels and work. It has the usual scholarly apparatus of footnotes, bibliography and index, with a formidable list of acknowledgments—indicating the wide travels and work of the Stenzels. The color reproductions are carefully executed to reveal the soft, delicate character of water color painting; by comparison, the black and white reproductions seem a trifle less successful. Water color is a perilously difficult medium to capture in black and white; clearly, costs made overall use of color impractical. There are a few typographical errors, and sometimes Dr. Stenzel has not used “(sic)” as consistently as he might. Personally, I wish he had not given William Birch McMurtrie “second billing”; McMurtrie was capable of certain subtle effects that the always slightly yet delightfully primitive Alden could not master. No matter, both were superb recorders of a long departed, forever lost Elysian West.

The book’s finale is a painstaking proof of the integrity of James Madison Alden as artist; his long confusion with his uncle, Lieutenant and later Admiral James Alden, who was never an artist has made the identification of his importance less obvious up to now. With the publication of the present work, James Madison Alden takes his rightful place in western art history.



California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Arnold, Mary Ellicott and Mabel Reed. *In the Land of the Grasshopper Song* (reprint). [Eureka: Schooner Features, 1975?]. Illustrations. \$4.95. Publisher. P.O. Box 491, Eureka, CA 95501.
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- Baird, Joseph A., Jr., editor. *Images of Eldorado; a History of California Photography: 1850-1975*. Davis: Memorial Union Art Gallery, University of California Davis, 1975. 50 pp. Illustrations. \$1.50. Editor, Art Department, University of California, Davis, Davis, CA.
- Balch, A. and J. *Ancient Lake Calhulla's Fish Trappers*. \$2.25. Author, P.O. Box 607, Temecula, CA 92390.
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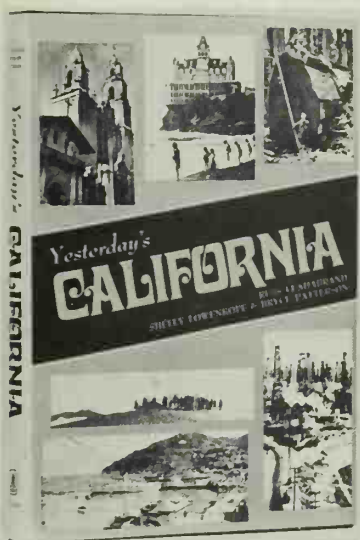
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- Keller, John Edward. *The Mendocino Outlaws*. Fort Bragg: Mendocino County Historical Society, c. 1974. 29 pp. Plates. Publisher, 603 W. Perkins Street, Ukiah, CA 95482.
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- MacDonald, Craig. *Cockeyed Charlie Parkhurst, the West's Most Unusual Stagewhip*. Palmer Lake, Colorado: Filter Press, 1975. 48 pp. Illustrations. \$4.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 5, Palmer Lake, CO 80133.
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- Perez Rosales, Vincente. *Oro en California*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1974. 150 pp.
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- Rose, Eugene A. *High Odyssey: The first solo winter assault of Mt. Whitney* . . . Orlando Bartholomew. Berkeley: Howell-North Books. [1974]. 100 pp. Illustrations.
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- Yongue, W. Gerald and Audrey E. Harris. *Mysterious Mono Basin*. Lee Vining, 1975. \$2.25. Author, P.O. Box 308, Lee Vining, CA 93541.

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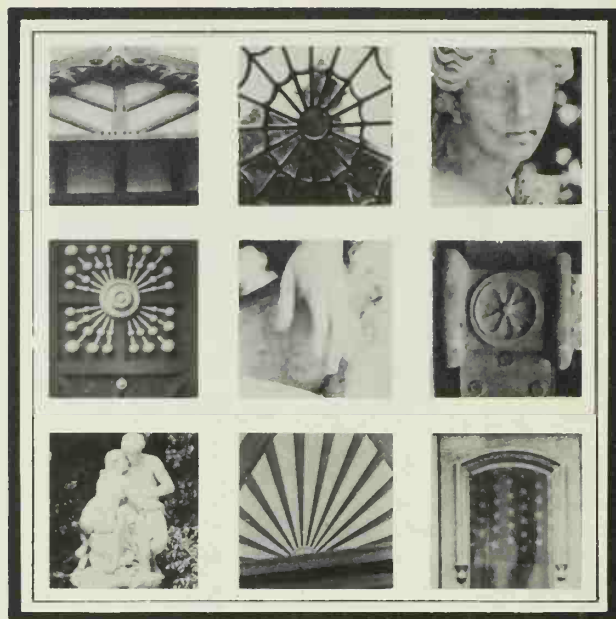
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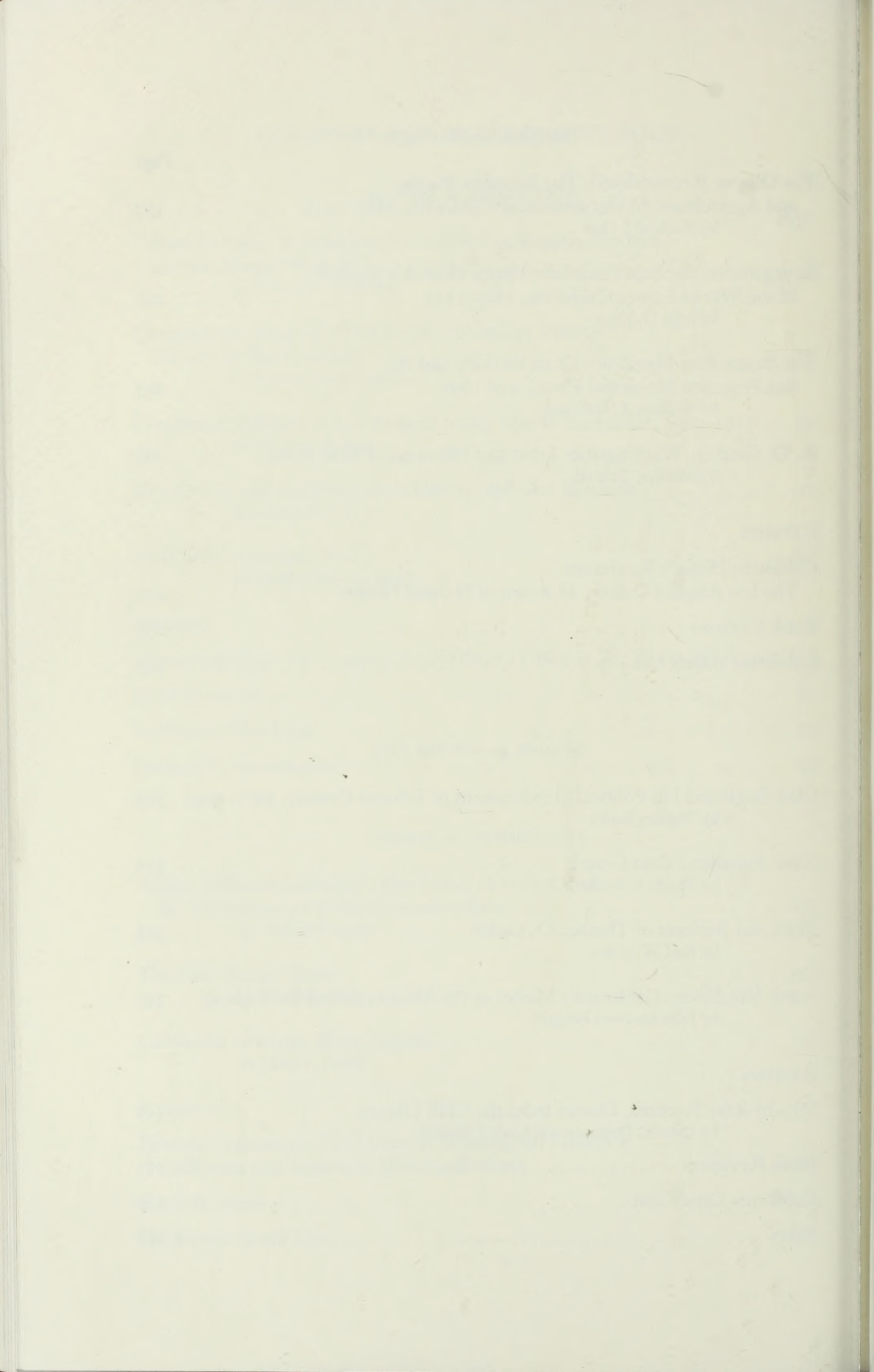
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